
GAGE

SPANISH-
WEST-
INDIES

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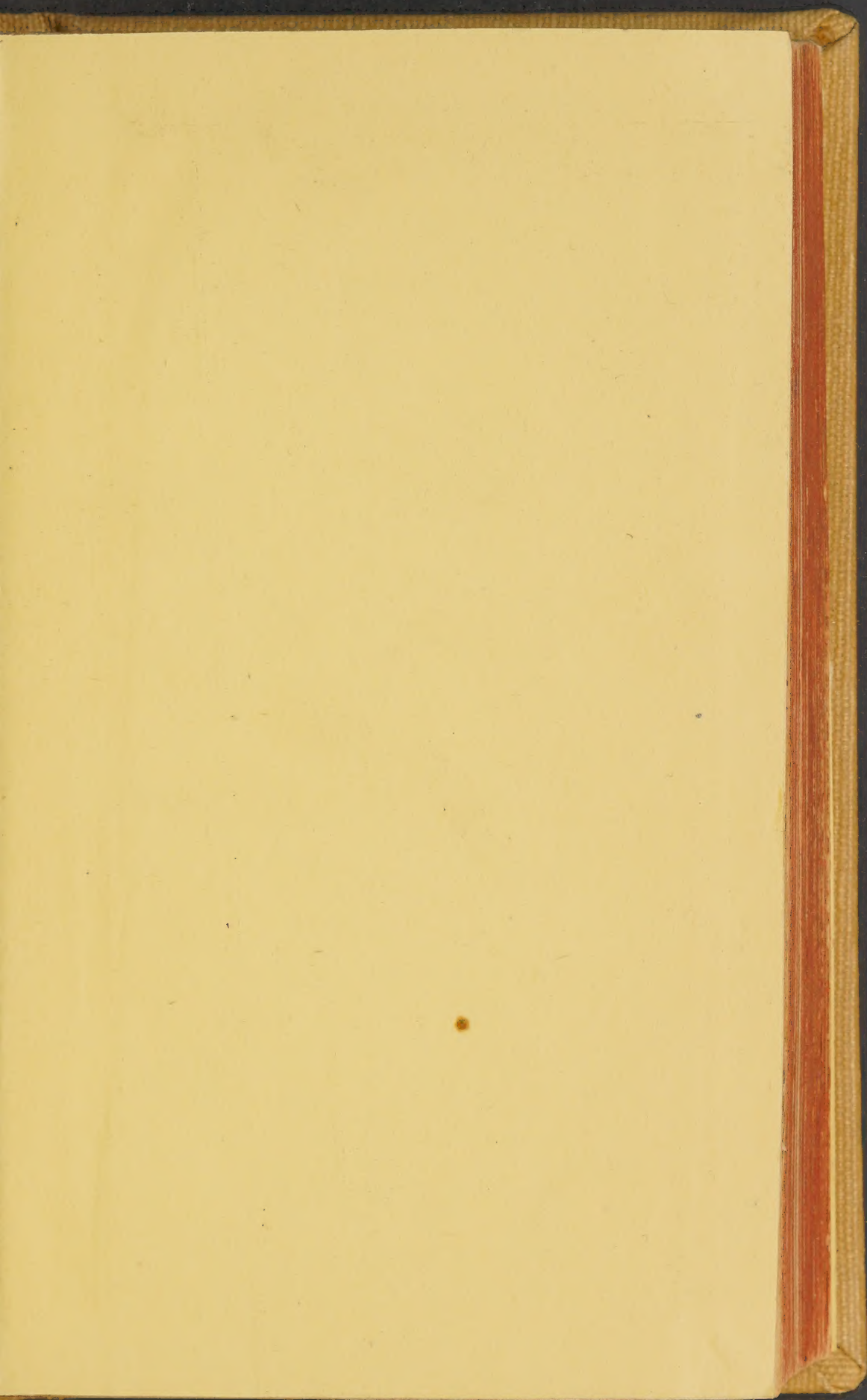


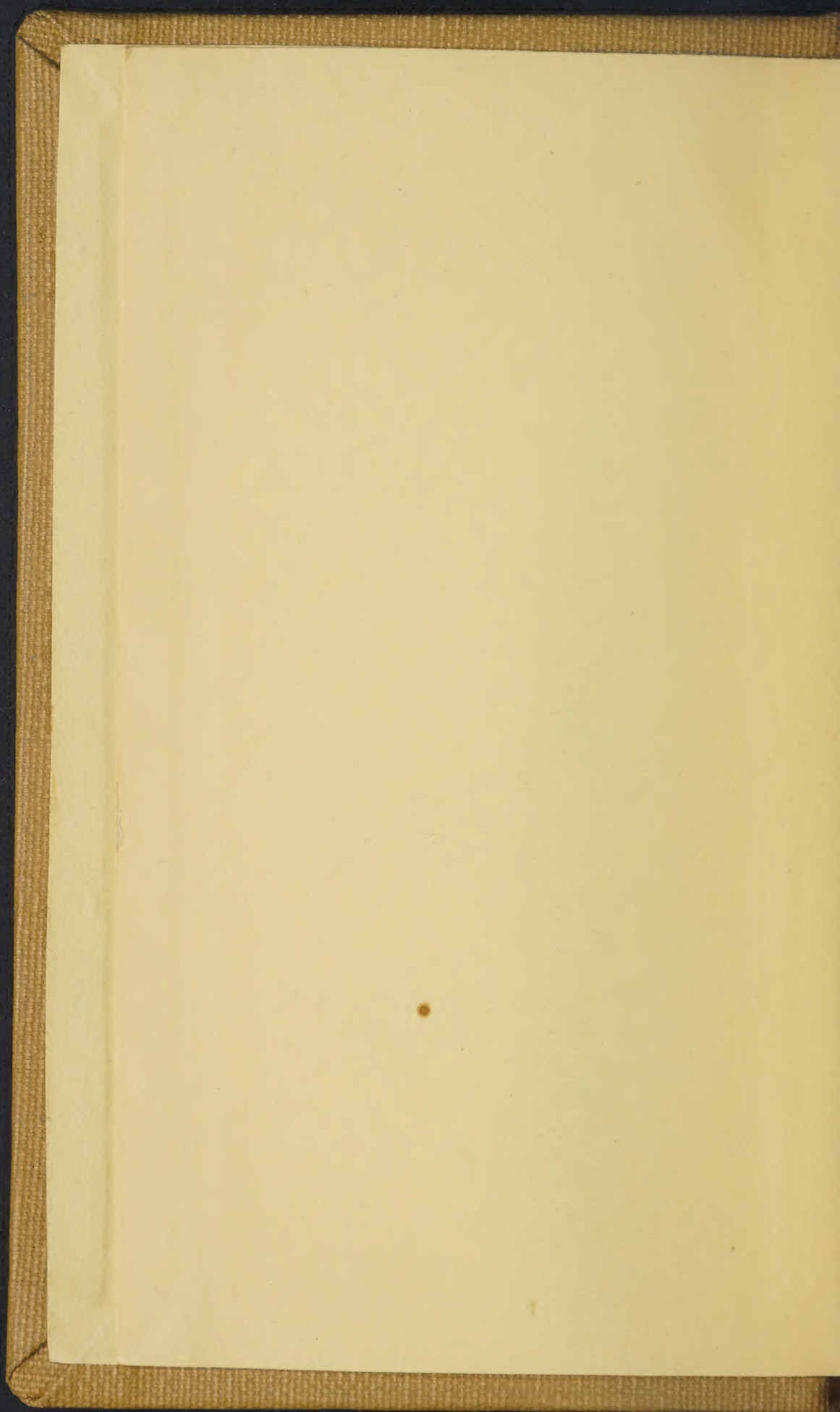


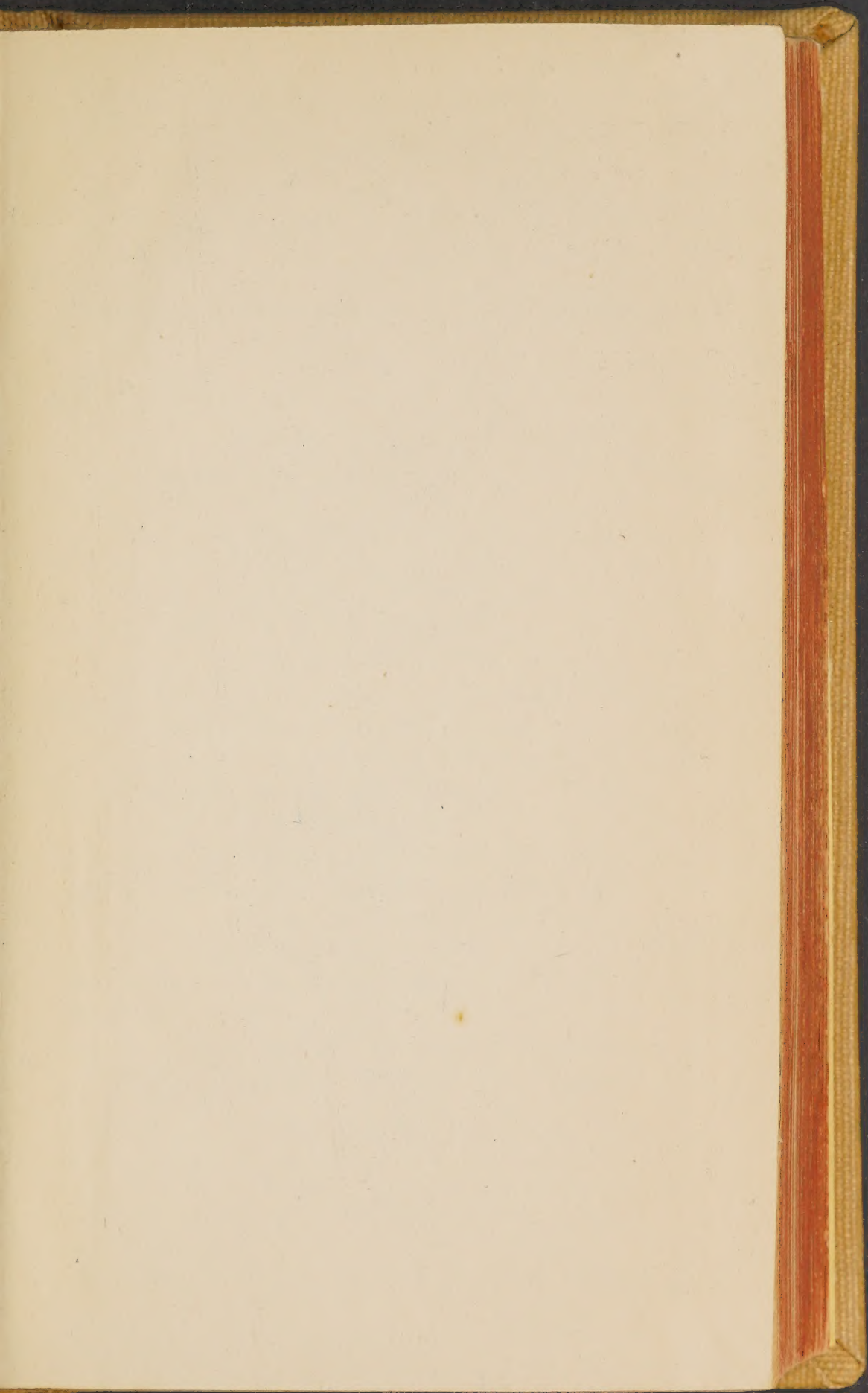


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A Survey of the
Spanish-West-Indies.

BEING

A Journal of Three thousand and Three hundred Miles
on the Continent of

A M E R I C A:

By *THO. GAGE*, Gent.

GIVING

An Account of the *Spanish* Navigation thither; their Government, Castles, Ports, Commodities, Religion, Priests and Friars, *Negro's, Mulatto's, Mestizo's, Indians*; and of their Feasts and Solemnities.

ALSO

His own Voyage from *Spain* to *S. John de Ulbua*; and thence to *Xalapa, Tlaxcalla, Ciudad de los Angeles*, and *MEXICO*: With a Description of that great City, as in former times, and at present.

LIKEWISE

His Journey thence through *Guaxaca, Chiapa, Guatemala, Vera Paz, &c.* with his abode XII. years about *Guatemala*, and an Account of his Return into his Native Country *England*: Describing *Nicaragua* and *Costa Rica*, to *Nicoya, Panama, Porto bello, Cartagena* and *Havana*.

With a *GRAMMAR*, or some few Rudiments of the *Indian* Tongue, called *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*.

With an Exact Map of the Country.

LONDON: Printed for *Thomas Horne*, at the South Entrance of the *Royal-Exchange*. 1702.

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To the R E A D E R:

THe Divine Providence hath hitherto so ordered my life, that for the greatest part thereof I have lived (as it were) in exile from my native Countrey: which happened, partly, by reason of my Education in the Romish Religion, and that in forein Universities; and partly, by my entrance into Monastical Orders. For twelve years space of which time, I was wholly disposed of in that part of America called New Spain, and the parts adjacent. My difficult going thither not being permitted to any, but to those of the Spanish Nation; my long stay there; and lastly my returning home, not only to my Country, but to the true knowledge and free profession of the Gospels Purity, gave me reason to conceive, That these great mercies were not appointed me by the Heavenly Powers, to the end I should bury my Talant in the earth, or hide my light under a bushel, but that I should impart what I there saw and knew to the use and benefit of my English Countrey-men: And which the rather I held my self obliged unto, because in a manner nothing hath been written of these

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To the Reader.

these Parts for these hundred years last past, which is almost ever since the first Conquest thereof by the Spaniards, who are contented to lose the honour of that wealth and felicity they have there since purchased by their great endeavours, so they may enjoy the safety of retaining what they have formerly gotten, in peace and security. In doing whereof I shall offer no Collections, but such as shall arise from mine own Observations, which will as much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written, as the Picture of a person grown to Mans estate, from that which was taken of him when he was but a Child; or the last hand of the Painter, to the first or rough draught of the Picture. To my Country-men therefore I offer a New World, to be the subject of their future Pains, Valour and Piety, desiring their acceptance of this plain but faithful Relation of mine, wherein the English Nation may see what wealth and honour they have lost by the oversight of King Henry VII. who living in peace and abounding in riches, did notwithstanding unfortunately reject the offer of being first Discoverer of America, and left it to Ferdinando of Aragon, who at the same time was wholly taken up by the Wars, in gaining of
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To the Reader.

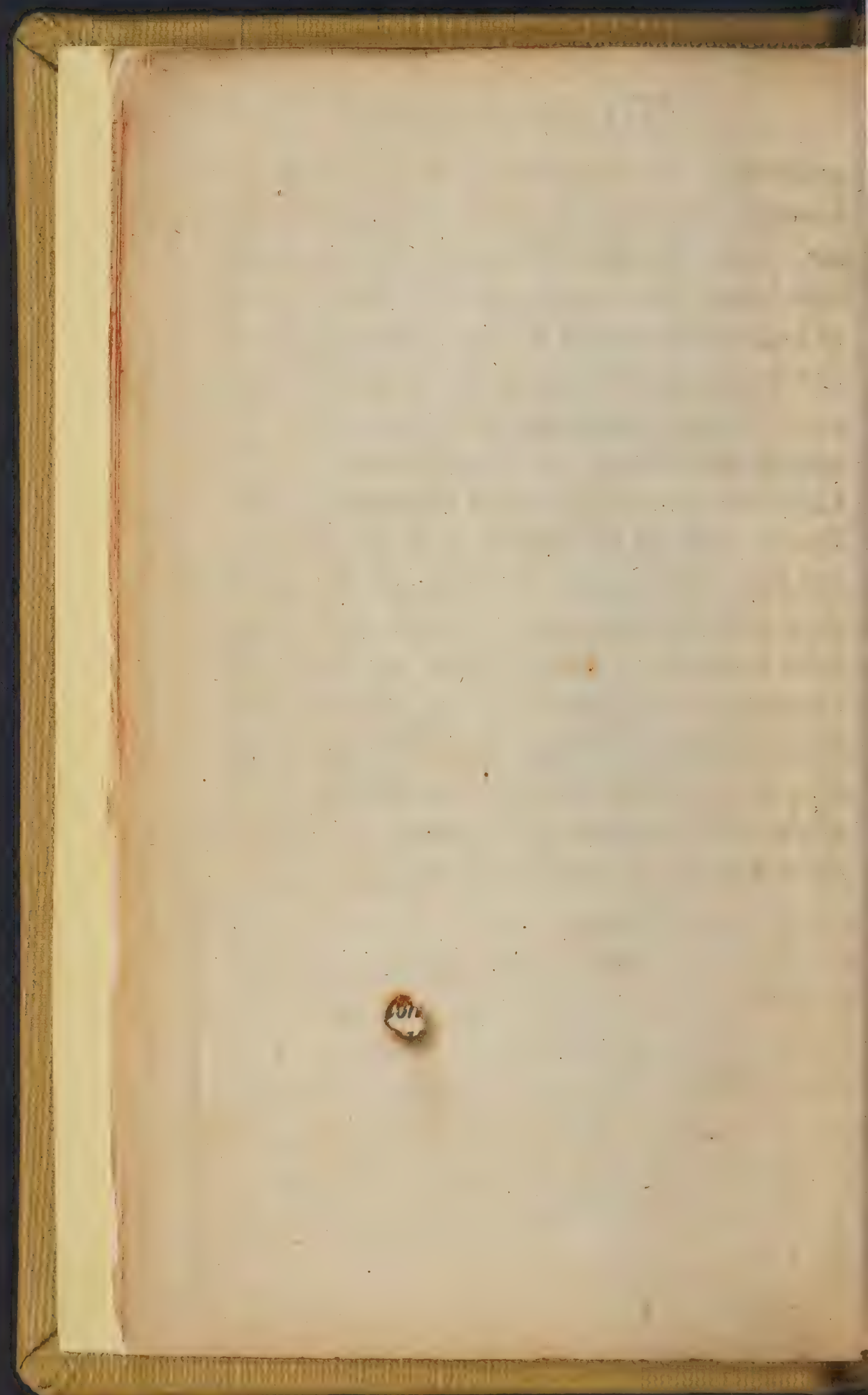
the City and Kingdom of Granada from the Moors ; being so impoverish'd thereby, that he was compelled to borrow with some difficulty a few Crowns of a very mean man, to set forth Columbus upon so glorious an Expedition. And yet, if time were closely followed at the heels we are not so far behind, but we might yet take him by the fore-top. To which purpose our Plantations of the Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Mevis, and the rest of the Caribe-Islands have not only advanced our journey the better part of the way ; but so inured our people to the Clime of the Indies, as they are the more enabled thereby to undertake any enterprize upon the firm Land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty so great as some may imagine ; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly, That with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of those petty Islands, they might have conquered so many great Cities and large Territories on the main Continent, as might very well merit the Title of a Kingdom. Our Neighbours the Hollanders may be our example in this case, who whilst we have been driving a private Trade from Port to Port, of which we are now likely to be deprived, have conquered so much
Land

To the Reader.

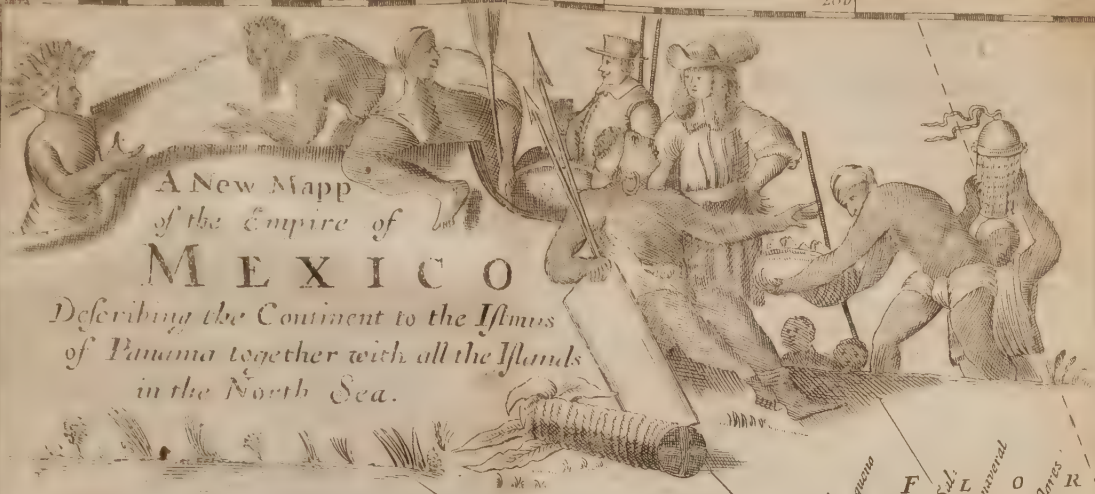
Land in the East and West-Indies, that it may be said of them, as of the Spaniards, That the Sun never sets upon their Dominions. And to meet with that Objection by the way, That the Spaniards being entituled to those Countries, it were both unlawful and against all conscience to dispossess him thereof. I answer, that (the Popes Donation excepted) I know no title he had but Force, which by the same title, and by a greater force, may be repelled. And to bring in the title of First Discovery, to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a Spanish Ship upon the Coast of India, should entitle the King of Spain to that Countrey, as the sailing of an Indian or English Ship upon the Coast of Spain, should entitle either the Indians or English unto the Dominion thereof. No question but the just Right or Title to those Countries appertains to the Natives themselves; who if they shall willingly and freely invite the English to their Protection, what Title soever they have in them, no doubt but they may legally transfer it or communicate it to others. And to say that the inhumane Butchery which the Indians did formerly commit in sacrificing of so many reasonable Creatures to their wicked Idols, was a sufficient warrant

To the Reader

warrant for the Spaniards to divest them of their Country ; The same Argument may by much better reason be enforced against the Spaniards themselves, who have sacrificed so many millions of Indians to the Idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous Islands and large Territories upon the main Continent, are thereby at this day utterly uninhabited, as Bartholomeo de las Casas the Spanish Bishop of Guaxaca in New Spain, hath by his Writings in Print sufficiently testified. But to end all disputes of this nature ; since that God hath given the earth to the sons of Men to inhabit ; and that there are many vast Countries in those parts, not yet inhabited either by Spaniards or Indian, why should my Countrymen the English be debarred from making use of that which God from all beginning, no question, did ordain for the benefit of Mankind ?







A New Map of the Empire of
MEXICO
Describing the Continent to the Isthmus
of Panama together with all the Islands
in the North Sea.



- | | | |
|---------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| These | 1. La Guadalupe | 5. Chichimilco |
| Islands | 2. Tlacotal | 6. Mexico, near Guat. |
| | 3. Toluca | 7. Pinola |
| | 4. Island of Pipocapoc | 8. Amatlan |

A

NEW SURVEY

OF THE

West-Indies.

C H A P. I.

How Rome doth yearly visit the American and Asian Kingdoms.



THE Policy, which for many years hath upheld the erring Church of Rome, hath clearly and manifestly been discovered by the many Errors which in several times by sundry Synods or General Councils, (which commonly are but Apes of the Popes fancy, will, pleasure, and ambition) have been enacted into that Church. And for such purposes doth that man of Sin, and Antichristian Tyrant, keep constantly in Rome so many poor Pensionary Bishops as hounds at his Table smelling out his ambitious thoughts, with whom he fills the Synods, when he calls them, charging them never to leave off barking and wearing out the rest of the Prelates, till they have them all as a prey unto his proud and ambitious designs; from which if any of them dare to start, not only their pensions shall be surely forfeited, but their

souls shall be cursed, and they as Hereticks Anathematized with a Censure of Excommunication *late sententie*. Hence sprung that Master-piece of Policy, decreeing that the Pope alone should be above the General Council, lest otherwise one Mans pride might be curbed by many heads joyned together; And secondly, that Synodical definition, that the Pope cannot Err, that though the Councils power, wisdom and learning were all sifted into one mans brain, all points of faith strained into one head and channel; yet the people should not stagger in any lawful doubts, nor the Learned sort follow any more the light of Reason, or the sunshine of the Gospel, but all yielding to blind Obedience, and their most holy Fathers infallibility, in the foggy and Chimerian mist of ignorance, might secure their souls from Erring, or deviating to the *Scylla* or *Carybdis* of Schism and Heresie. What judicious eye, that will not be blinded with the napkin of ignorance, doth not easily see that Policy only hath been the chief Actor of those damnable Opinions of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice though unbloody (as they term it) of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, their Canonization or Installing of Saints into the Kingdom of Heaven, Indulgences, Auricular Confession, with satisfactory Penance, and many such like: All which doubtless have been commanded as points of Faith, not so much to save these wretched souls, as to advance that crackt-brain'd head in the conceits of his European wonderers, who long ago were espied out by the Spirit of *John* wondring after the Beast, worshipping him for his power, and saying, *Who is like unto the Beast, who is able to make War with him?* Rev. 13 3, 4. Thus can Policy invent a Purgatory, that a Pope may be sought from all parts of *Europe*, nay from *East* and *West-India's*, to deliver souls from that imaginary Fire which God never created, but he himself hath fancied, that so much glory may be ascribed to him, and his power wondered at, who can plunge into torments, condemn to burning, and when he list, deliver out of fire. Much more would he be admired, and his goodness extolled, if he would deliver at once all those his Purgatory Prisoners without the

the Simoniacal receipt of money. But Policy can afford an infinite price and value of a Sacrifice of the Mass, to delude the ignorant people, that though they leave their whole estates to enrich Cloisters, and fat proud Prelates and Abbots; yet this is nothing, and comes far short (being finite) to that infinite Sacrifice, which only can and must deliver their scorching, nay broiling souls: And if this infinite Sacrifice be not enough, (which will not be enough, whereas Christs infinite satisfaction was not enough in the opinion of that erroneous Church) Policy will give yet power to a Pope, *si divitiæ affluent*, if money and rich bribes abound, to grant such plenary Indulgences, which may upon one Saints day, or at such a Saints Altar, work that soul out, which lyeth lurking and frying in the deepest pit of Purgatory. O who is like unto the Beast; But will those that wonder at him, be also wondered at as workers of Wonders and Miracles? Policy will give power to a Pope to Canonize such, and set them at Gods right hand, fit to be prayed unto, and called upon as Judges of our necessities, and Auditors of our wants: But this honour must be given, after that the whole College of Cardinals have been clothed with new Purple Robes, and Loads of money brought to the Court of Rome; Witness those many thousand pounds, which the City of Barcelona, and the whole Country of Catalonia spent in the Canonizing of *Raimundus de Pennafort*, a Dominican Fryer: Witness at least ten Millions, which I have been credibly informed, that the Jesuits spent for the Canonization of their two Twins, *Ignatius Loiola*, and *Franciscus Xavier*, whom they call the East-India Apostle. And it is not seven years ago yet that it was my chance to Travel from Frankford in Germany as far as Milain in company of one Fryer *John Baptist* a Franciscan, who told me, That was the fourth time of his going to Rome from *Valentia* in the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain about the Canonization of one *John Capistrano* of the same Order; and that besides the great Alms which he had begged over many Countries, (and in that journey went purposely to *Innsburg* to the Prince *Leopoldo* for his Alms

and Letters of Commendation to the Pope and Cardinals) he had spent of the City of *Valentia* only five thousand Duckets, and yet was not his Saint enthroned, as he desired, in Heaven ; but still mony was wanting, and more demanded for the Dignifying with a Saints Title, him who had lived a Mendicant and begging Fryer. Thus are those blinded Nations brought by Policy to run to *Rome* with Rich Treasures, and thus do they strive who shall have most Saints of their Country or Nation, though impoverishing themselves, whilst at *Rome* Ambition and Policy say not, It is enough, fit mates for the Horsleech his two Daughters, crying, *Give, give, Prov. 30. 15.* Give, say they, and the rigid Penance justly to be imposed upon thee for thy sins most hainous, shall be extenuated and made easie for thee. Give, say they, and thou shalt be dispensed with to marry thy nearest Kinswoman or Kinsman. It would be a long story to insert here how the Popes Policy sucks out of *England* our Gold and silver for the Authorizing of our Papists private Chambers and Altars for the gaining of Indulgence in them, and delivering of souls out of Purgatory, when Masses are said and heard at them. Thus hath *Romes* Policy blinded and deceived many of the *European* Kingdoms ; and with the same greediness gapes at *Asia* and *America*. Who would not admire to see that at this day in *America* only, the Popes Authority and usurped power is extended to as many Countries as all *Europe* contains, wherein no Religion but meer blind Obedience and Subjection to that Man of Sin is known ? And dayly may it more and more encrease, whereas the King of *Spain* gloryeth to have received from the Pope power over those Kingdoms far greater than any other Princes of *Europe* have enjoyed from him. But the pity is, that what power these Princes have, they much acknowledge it from *Rome*, having given their own power and strength to the Beast *Rev. 17. 13.* suffering themselves to be divested of any Ecclesiastical power over the Clergy, and unable to tender any Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to their own and natural Subjects, only so far as his Holiness shall give them power.

Which,

Chap. I. of the West-Indies.

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Which, Policy since the first Conquest of the *West-India's* and Ambition to advance the Popes name, hath granted to the Kings of *Spain*, by a special Title, naming those Kingdoms, *El Patrimonio Real*, The Royal Patrimony ; upon this Condition, that the King of *Spain* must maintain there the Preaching of the Gospel, Fryers, Priests and Jesuits to Preach it, with all the Erroneous Popish Doctrines ; which tend to the advancement of the Popes Glory, Power, and Authority. So that what power he hath divested himself of, and invested the Pope with ; what power other Princes are divested of, and the King of *Spain* in his Kingdoms of *Europe*, from meddling in Ecclesiastical affairs, or with Ecclesiastical men ; Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Jesuits, Monks and Fryers ; that same power by way of Royal Patrimony is conferred upon him in the *India's* only. And this only Politickly to maintain their Popery ; else never would it have so much increased there ; for poor Priests and Mendicant Fryers would never have had means enough to be at the charges of sending yearly Flocks and Sholes of Fryers thither, neither to keep and maintain them there ; neither would the Covetousness of the Popes themselves have afforded out of their full and Rich Treasures, means sufficient for the maintaining of so many thousand Preachers as at this day are Preaching there, more *Rome* and Antichrists name, than name of Christ and the truth of the Gospel. And Policy having thus opened away to those *American* parts, the charges being thus laid upon the Crown of *Spain*, and the honour of a Royal Patrimony, with power over the Clergy thus conferred upon the Kings of *Spain* ; how doth the Pope yearly charge the Catholick King with Troops of Jesuits and Fryers to be conveyed thither ? Now the Jesuits (the best Scholars of *Romes* Policy) seeing this to be thus settled between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, for the increasing of their Order, and to suppress the increase of other Religious there, have thought first of a way of challenging all the *India's* to themselves, alledging that *Francis Xavierius* companion of *Ignatius Loiola* was the first Preacher that ever Preached in the *East-India's*, and so by right that

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they being of his profession ought only to be sent thither. But this their way being stopped by the opposition of all other Religious Orders, especially by the solicitation of one Fryer *Diego Colliado*, a Dominican, as hereafter I will shew more largely. Now, secondly, their Policy is to lean more to the Popes of *Rome*, than any other of those Orders, by a special Vow which they make above the three Vows of other Orders, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience to their Superiors; to wit, to be always ready to go to Preach when or whither soever the Pope shall send them, and to advance his name, defend his power in what parts soever, maugre whatsoever danger, or opposition. Thus though the remoteness of *America* may discourage other Orders from going thither to Preach, and their free-will which is left unto them to make choice of so long and tedious a journey may retard their readines and the dangers of the *Barbarians* unwillingness to submit to a Popes power, and admit of a new Religion as superstitious as their own, may affright them from hazarding their lives among a Barbarous, Rude, and Idolatrous people; yet if all others fail, the Pope, and the Jesuits being thus agreed, and the King of *Spain* bound by the new Royal Patrimony, Preachers have not, nor shall ever be wanting in those parts: And instead of the old Jesuits and Preachers grown in age, yearly are sent thither Missions (as they call them) either of Voluntiers, Fryers Mendicants, Priests or Monks, or else of forced Jesuits: All which entring once into the List and Bond of Missionaries, must abide there, and be maintained by the King of *Spain* ten years. And whosoever before the ten years expired, shall desire to see *Spain* again, or runagate-like shall return, may be constrained (if taken in *Spain*) to return again to the *India's*, as it happened whilst I lived in those parts, to one Fryer *Peter de Balcazar* a Dominican, who privily flying back to *Spain*, was the year after shipped, and restored again to his forced service under the Pope of *Rome*. And thus doth Policy open the ways to those remote and forain parts of *America*. Thus hath Policy wrought upon the King of *Spain*; and Jesuitical Policy meeting with Anti-

Antichrists Policy and Ambition, doth *Rome* yearly visit her new nursed Children, greeting that Infantile Church of *Asia* and *America* with Troops of Messengers one after another, like *Jobes* Messengers, bringing under pretence of Salvation, Damnation and misery to their poor and wretched souls.

CHAP. II.

Shewing that the Indians Wealth under a pretence of their Conversion hath corrupted the hearts of poor begging Fryers, with Strife, Hatred and Ambition.

IT is a most true and certain saying, *Odia Religionum sunt acerbissima*, hatred grounded in points and differences of Religion (let me add, if Ambition blow the fire to that hatred) is the most bitter and incapable of reconciliation. Nay, it is an observation worth noting of some (see Doctor Day upon 1 Cor. 16. 9) that the nearer any are unto a conjunction in matters of Religion, and yet some difference retained, the deeper is the hatred; as he observes, a Jew hates a Christian far worse than he doth a Pagan, or a Turk; a Papist hates a Protestant worse than he doth a Papist. No such hatred under Heaven (saith he) as that between a Formalist, and a Puritan, whereof our now Domestick and Civil Wars may be a sad and woful experience. A truth which made *Paul* burst out into a lamentable complaint, 1 Cor. 16. 9. saying, *A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.*

And as when the door of true Faith once is opened, then Adversaries begin to swarm and rage; so in all points of false and feigned Religion, where the entrance to it is laid open, hatred and enmity will act their parts. But much more if with such pretended Religion, Wealth and Ambition

tion as Counterfeit Mates thrust hard to enter at the opened door, what Strife, Hatred, and Envy do they kindle even in the hearts of such who have Vowed Poverty and the Contempt of Worldly Wealth; I may add to what hath been observed above, that no Hatred is comparable to that which is between a Jesuit and a Fryer, or any other of *Romes* Religious Orders; And above all yet, between a Jesuit, and a Dominican. The Ambition and Pride of Jesuits, is inconsistent in a Kingdom or Common-wealth with any such as may be equal to them in Preaching, Counsel or Learning. Therefore strive they so much for the Education of Gentlemens Children in their Colleges, that by Teaching the Sons, the love of the Fathers and Mothers may be more easily gained: and their love and good will thus gained, they may withal gain to themselves whatsoever praise, honour, glory may be fit to bestowed upon any other Ecclesiastical Person. Which Policy and Ambition in them being so patent and known to all the World, hath stirred up in all other Religions a Hatred to them uncapable ever of Reconciliation. This hath made them all to conspire against them, and to discover their unsatisfied Covetousness in beguiling the rich Widows of what means hath been left them by their deceased Husbands, to Erect and Build those stately Colleges beyond the Seas, the sight whereof both outward and inward doth draw the Ignorant People to resort more to their Churches and Preaching than to any other. Thus whiles in *Venice* they got the favour of one of the chief Senators of that Common-wealth, they Politickly drew him to make his Will according to their will and pleasure, leaving to his Son and Heir no more than what they should think fit to afford him. But they appropriating to themselves the chiefest part of the young Heirs Means, and with so proud a Legacy thinking to overpower all other Orders, wereby them opposed so, that the Will was called for by the whole State and Senators of *Venice*, fully examined, and they commanded to restore to the Heir the whole Estate as enjoyed by his Father. Well did that wise Senate conceive, that as one Noble man had been Cheated by them of his

his Fortunes, so might they one by one, and so at length the Riches of *Venice* might become a Treasure only for Jesuits to maintain the Pride and Pomp of their Glorious Fabricks. And though those Vowed Servants to the Pope obtained his Excommunication against the whole Estate of *Venice* upon non-complying with the aforesaid Will and Testament; yet such was the Preaching of all other Priests and Orders against them, that they caused the State to slight the Excommunication, and in lieu of making them Heirs of the deceased Senator's Estate, they shamefully Banished them out of *Venice*. Thus also have the Priests and Fryers of *Biscaya* in *Spain* prevailed against the admitting of Jesuits into *San-Sebastian*, though by the favour of some they have in several occasions obtained an house and erected a Bell to Ring and summon in the people to their pretended Church and College. Nay the very house whereing their Patron *Ignatius Loiola* lived, have they often seriously offered to buy for a College; yet such hath been the opposition of the Priests and Fryers of that Country, that they have dashed to nought their often iterated endeavours to purchase that which they esteem their chiefest Relick. But to come nearer to our own Country, what a combustion did this strife between Jesuits and other Priests of *England* cause among our Papists ten years ago, when the Pope sending into *England* Doctor *Smith* pretended Bishop of *Chalcedon* to be the Metropolitan head over all the Clergy and other Orders, how then was it to see the pride of the Jesuits as inconsistent with any one that might overstay them, or gain more credit than themselves? who never left persecuting the Bishop, till by the Popes Letters they had Banished him out of *England*. Which curtesie, the Secular Priests gaining yet a head over them with Title of Arch-deacon, Doctor *Champney*, have ever since sought to repay home, by endeavouring always to cast them out of *England*, as pernicious to the State of this Kingdom, more then Fryers or any other sort of Priests; Which they have sufficiently made known by discovering their Covetousness in encroaching upon many Houses and farms, enriching themselves, as
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namely at *Winifreds Well* (so termed by them) where they had brought an Inn, and speedily fell to building there that they might make it a College for Jesuits to entertain there all Papists comers and goers to that well, and so might win to themselves the hearts of most of the Papists of the Land, who do yearly resort thither to be washed and Healed upon any light occasion either of Head-ach, Stomach-ach, Ague, want of Children, where they blindly phansie a speedy Remedy for all Maladies, or wants of this World. Thus have the Priests discovered further our English Jesuits Covetousness in building of Sope-houses at *Lambeth* under the name of *Mr. George Gage* their Purse-bearer, and since projecting the Monopoly of Sope under *Sir Richard Weston*, *Sir Basil Brock*, and many others names, who were but Agents and Traders with the Jesuits Rich and Mighty Stock. Thus came out the discovery of the Levelling of Hills and Mountains, Cutting of Rocks at *Leige* in the *Low Countries* at the College of the English Jesuits, a Work for Gardens and Orchards for their Novices Recreation and Pastime, which (as I have heard from their own mouths) cost them thirty thousand pound, which Gift they squeezed out of one only Countess of this Land. Like to this may prove their College at *Gaunt*, for which they have obtained already a fair beginning of eight thousand pounds from the Old Countess of *Shrewsbury*, and from the greatest part of the Estate of *Mr. Sackefield*, whom while they had him in their Colleges, they cherished with their best Dainties, and with hopes that one day he should be a Canonized Saint of their Religious Order. All these Knaveries do even those Priests of the same Popish Religion discover of them, and thereby endeavour to make them odious. And though of all the Jesuits be the most Covetous, yet may I not excuse the Secular Priests, Benedictine Monks, and the Fryers from this Damnable Sin; who also strive for Wealth and Means for their *Doway*, *Paris* and *Lisbon* Colleges, and lose no opportunities at the death of their Popish Favorites for the obtaining a Legacy of one or two hundred pounds, assuring them their souls shall be the better for their Masses. Thus
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do those miserable wretches in the very heat of their Zeal of souls seek to suppress one another, and having Vow'd Poverty, yet make they the Conversion of *England* the only object of their Ambition and insatiable Covetousness. But above all is this Envy and Hatred found between Dominicans and Jesuits, for these owe unto them an old grudge, for that when *Ignatius Loiola* lived, his Doctrine *de Trinitate* (which he pretended was revealed to him from Heaven, for he was certainly past the Age of studying at his Conversion) was questioned by the Dominicans, and he by a Church Censure publickly and shamefully whipped about their Cloisters for his Erroneous Principles. This affront done to their chief Patron hath stirred up in them an unreconcilable hatred towards the Order of the Dominicans, and hath made them even crack their brains to oppose *Thomas Aquinas* his Doctrine. How shamefully do those two Orders endeavour the destruction of each other, branding one another with Calumnies of Heresie, in the Opinions especially *de Conceptione Mariæ, de libero Arbitrio, de Auxiliis*? And of two, the Jesuit is more bold and obstinate in Malice and Hatred. How did they some twenty years ago, all *Spain* over, about the Conception of *Mary*, stir up the people against the Dominicans, in so much that they were in the very streets termed Hereticks, stones cast at them, the King almost perswaded to Banish them out of all his Dominions, and they poor Fryers forced to stand upon their guard in their Cloisters in many Cities, especially in *Sevil, Osuna, Antiquera* and *Cordova*, to defend themselves from the rude and furious multitude. Much like this was that publick Conference and Disputation between *Valentia* the Jesuit and Master *Lemos* the Dominican, before the Pope, concerning their altercation *de Auxiliis*; When the cunning Jesuit hoping to Brand with Heresie the whole Order of Dominicans, had caused *Augustines* Works to be falsly Printed at *Lions*, which such words which might directly oppose the *Thomists* Opinion; and had prevailed, had not *Lemos* begged of the Pope that the Original Books of *Austin* might be brought out of his *Vatican* Library, where was
found

found the quite contrary words, to what the false Jesuit had caused to be Printed; he was forced to confess his Knavery, was harshly reprehended, and with the apprehension of that great affront, the next night gave up his ghost to his father, the father of lies and falshood.

Another reason of this mortal enmity between these two Orders, is for that the Jesuits surpass all others in Ambition of honour, credit and estimation, whence it is they cannot indure to behold the Dominicans exceed them in any preferment. Now it is that by the Laws of *Arragon* and the Kingdom of *Valencia*, the Kings of *Spain* are tyed to have a Dominican Fryer for their confessor or Ghostly Father; which could but the Jesuits obtain, how would they then Rule and govern *Spain* and the Kings heart? But though they could never yet prevail to alter this Established Law, yet have they prevailed now lately so that *Antonio de Sotomayor* the King of *Spains* Confessor should lie at rest in the Court of *Madrid*, with a Pension and dry Title only; and that *Florentia* that grand Statist should be Confessor to the Count of *Olivares*, the Royal Issue, the Queen, and should hear the Kings Confessions oftner than his Chosen and Elected Confessor *Sotomayor*. Secondly, the Dominicans as first Authors of the Inquisition (which they prove from their Martyr *Peter* of *Verona*) still enjoy the highest Places of that Court, which is a woful sight to the Jesuits to see their Religion-affairs handled, their Church kept pure from what they call Heresie by any but themselves. O had they (as they have often strove for it) in their hands the judicature of that Tribunal, how should all Dominicans, nay all sorts of Priests but their own, presently by them be Branded with Heresie? Thirdly, in *Rome* there is another preferment successively due to Dominicans from the time of *Dominicus de Guzman* Founder of that Religion, to wit, to be *Magister Sacri Palatii*, the Popes Palace Master, instituted to this purpose, that about him there may be some Learned Divine (for commonly the Popes are more Statists, and Canonists, than Divines) to read a dayly Lecture of Divinity to such as will be instructed therein, and to resolve
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the Pope himself of whatsoever difficult Points in Divinity may be questioned. This is the Dominicans due with a Pension to maintain a Coach and Servants within the Palace of St. Peter. Which the Jesuits have often by favour and cunning Jesuitical tricks endeavoured to bereave the Dominicans of; but proving labour in vain, they continue still in their un placable enmity and hatred against them. And thus you see the fountains of their strife; which as here in *Europe* hath been well seen, so hath this contentious fire overpowered the fire of their Zeal of souls in the *East* and *West-India's*; and the Wealth and Riches of those Countries, the Ambition of honour in their Gospel Function hath more powerfully drawn them thither, than (what they pretend) the Conversion of a Barbarous and Idolatrous Nation. This was well published to the view of the whole World by a most infamous Libel which in the year 1626. Fryer *Diego de Colliado* a Missionary Fryer in *Philippinas* and *Japan* set out of the unheard of passages and proceedings of the Jesuits in those *Eastern* parts. At that time the Jesuits pretended that Mission to themselves only, and Petitioned the King of *Spain*, that only they might go thither to Preach, having been the first Plantation of *Franciscus Xavier*, and since continued successively by their Priests. To this purpose they remember the King of the great charges he was at in sending so many Fryers, and maintaining them there; all which should be saved, might they only have the ingress into that Kingdom. All which charges they offered themselves to bear, and further to bring up the *Indians* in the true Faith, to instruct them and Civilize them, to teach them all Liberal Sciences, and to perfect them in Musick and all Musical Instruments, and in Fencing, Dancing, Vaulting, Painting, and whatsoever else might make them a Compleat and Civil people. But against all this was objected by *Diego Calliado*, that not Zeal only and Charity moved them to this offer, but their Ambition and Covetousness, which would soon be seen in their encroaching upon the silly and simple *Indians* Wealth; bringing instances of many thousand pounds which they had squeez'd from the poor *Barbarians*

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in the Islands of *Philippinas*; And that their entering into *Japan* was more to enrich themselves, than to Convert the *Japonians* to Christianity; that whensoever they entered into the Kingdom they conveyed from *Mamila* whole ships laden with the richest Commodities of those Islands; that their Trading was beyond all other Merchants Trading, their Bench for exchange money far more accustomed than any other, whether for *China*, for *Japan*, for *Peru* and *Mexico*, and that the Viceroy himself made use of none other, but theirs. That to keep out all other Orders out of *Japan*, they had ingratiated themselves so far, under pretence of Trading, into the Emperors favour by gifts of Watches, Clocks, Dials, Locks, and Cabinets, and such like presents of most curious and Artificial Workmanship, that they had got free access to his Court, and Counsell'd him to beware of Fryers, which cunningly crept into his Kingdom to Preach a New Law, perswading him by rigorous search and inquiries to root them out: thus Politickly for their own ends hindering the increase of Christianity by any means or instruments save themselves; and blinding the Emperors eyes with their cunning insinuations, that he might not see in them, what they desired he might discover in others, that they might appear in Sheep-skins, and others clothed with Wolves skins; and so the Fryers might have little heart to Trade, but enough to do to save themselves from the stormy persecution, whilst they freely might enjoy the liberty of rich Trading. This Brand upon these cunning Foxes was commanded to be Printed; thanks given to *Diego Colliado* for discovering to the Estate their crafty proceedings, with not a few Tenets maintained by them in *Japan* even against their own Sovereign; a sat Bishoprick was offered to the Fryer, which he refusing, Commission was given unto him for the raising of forty Fryers out of *Spain*, and the conducting of them to the Islands of *Philippinas*, and that it should be free for all Priests and Fryers, as well as Jesuits, to pass to those parts for the Preaching of Christ, and the extending
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of Christianity among the Heathens and Barbarians. O that this my discovery made to *England* of those dissembling and false Priests, would make us wise to know and discover under the ashes of their pretended Religion, the fire of strife and contention which they kindle in Kingdoms, and to rake up that Covetousness which we may easily find in them; tending to the ruin of many fair Estates, and to the Temporal and Spiritual danger of this our flourishing Kingdom!

C H A P. III.

Shewing the manner of the Missions of Fryers and Jesuits to the India's.

ALL the Kingdoms of *America*, that have been Conquered by the Kings of *Spain*, are divided as into several Temporal governments, so into several spiritual jurisdictions, under the name of Provinces, belonging unto several Religious Orders, and their Provincials. These though so far distant from *Europe*, yet live with a dependency and subordination unto the Court of *Rome*, and are bound to send thither a strict account and relation of what most remarkable passages and successes happen there, as also what want of Preachers there is in every several Province. Which is to be performed in this manner. Every Religious Order (except the Jesuits and Dominicans, whose General continueth till death, unless a Cardinals Cap be bestowed upon him) maketh election of one of the same Order to be the head Ruler, or (as they call him) General over all those of the same profession every sixth year. The subjects unto this General which are dispersed in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *East* and *West-India's*, are divided into sundry Provinces, as in *Spain* there is one Province of *Andaluzia*, another of *Castilia nueva*, new *Castile*, another of *Castilia vieia*, old *Castile*, another of *Valencia*, another of *Arragon*,

Arragon, of *Murcia*, of *Catalonia*; So likewise in *America* there is the Province of *Mexico*, of *Mechoacan*, of *Guaxaca*, of *Cbiapa* and *Guatemala*, of *Camayagua*, *Nicaragua* and the like. Every Province of these hath a head named the Provincial, chosen by the chief of the Province every three years, which Election is called a Provincial Chapter, and the former a General Chapter, which also is allotted to be in some chief City, commonly in *Italy*, *France*, or *Spain*. When the Provincial Chapter is kept, then by the consent of all that meet in it is there one named by name of Procurator or Diffinitor, who is to go in the name of the whole Province to the next Election of the General, and there to demand such things as his Province shall think fit, and to give an account of the state of the Province from whence he is sent. Thus from the *West-India's* are sent Procurators, who commonly are the best Prizes the *Holland Ships* meet with, for that they carry with them great Wealth, and Gifts to the Generals, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in *Spain*, as Bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand. Among other businesses their charge is this, to make known the great want of Laborers in the abundant and plentiful harvest of the *India's* (though not all Provinces demand Preachers from *Spain*, as I will shew hereafter) and to desire a number of thirty or forty young Priests, who may be fit for any *Indian Language* and to succeed the old standers.

The Order of the Province being read to the General, or his General Chapter, then are Letters Patents granted unto this Procurator from the General, naming him his Vicar General for such a Province, and declaring his sufficiency and worthy parts, (though none at all in him, as I have been witness of some) the great pains he hath taken in the new planted *Indian Church*, and how fit he hath been judged to convey to those parts, a Mission of such as shall Voluntarily offer themselves for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Barbarians. Then the Tauny *Indian Fryer* being well set out with high Commendations and fairly Painted with flattering Elogics, presents these
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his Patents (and with them peradventure a little Wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearls, some Rubies or Diamonds, a Chest of Cochinele, or Sugar, with some Boxes of curious Chocolete, or some Feather Works of *Mechoacan*, some small fruits of his great pains and labour) to the Pope ; who for his first reward gives him his Toe and Pantofle to kiss, seconding this honour with a joyful countenance to behold an Apostle, judging him worthy of the best of the *Indian* Wealth, and his soul peradventure fit for the Title of a Saint ; this complacency in the gift and the giver, breeds immediately a *motus proprius* in his Holiness to grant a Bull with a decree of the Popes Commissary, whereing this poor Mendicant Frier is enabled to run over all the Cloisters of his Profession in *Spain*, to gather up his thirty or forty young Preachers. Who for their better encouragement are at their first listing by the Popes Authority absolved *à culpa & à pœna*, from all sin, and from their Purgatory and Hell due unto it, by a plenary Indulgence. And whosoever shall oppose, or any way discourage this Popes Commissary, or those that are or would be listed by him, are *ipso facto* Excommunicated with an Anathem reserved only to this Commissary or his Holiness himself. O what is it to see, when such a Commissary's coming is known, how the young Birds, that as in Cages are shut up within the walls of a Cloister, leap and cherish themselves with hopes of Liberty ? What is it to see disordered Friars, who for their misdemeanours, and leaping over their Cloister-walls in the night to find out their wanton Harlots, have been, Imprisoned now rejoyce at the coming of a Popes Commissary, and plenary Indulgence, freeing them from sins past, and fitting them for the Conversion of souls, though their own be not averted from their Harlot, nor as yet truly and unfainedly Converted to the love of God ? True it is, I have known some that have written their names in the List of *Indian Missionaries*, men of Sober Life and Conversation, moved only with a blind Zeal of encreasing the Popish Religion : yet I dare say and confidently Print this truth without wronging the Church of *Rome* that of thirty or forty which in such occasions are commonly transported to the *India's* the three parts of them are Friars

of leud lives, weary of their retired Cloister lives, who have been punished often by their Superiours for their wilful back-sliding from that obedience which they formerly Vowed ; or for the breach of their Poverty in closely retaining more by them to Card and Dice, of which sort I could here namely insert a long and tedious Catalogue ; or lastly such, who have been Imprisoned for violating their Vow of Chastity with leud and lascivious women, either by secret flight from their Cloister, or by publick Apostatizing from their Order, and clothing themselves in Lay-mens Apparel, to run about the safer with their wicked Concubines. Of which sort it was my change to be acquainted with one Fryer *John Navarro* a Franciscan in the City of *Guatemala*, who after he had in Secular Apparel enjoyed the leud company of one *Ameryllis* a famous woman Player in *Spain* for the space of a year, fearing at last he might be discovered, listd himself in a Mission to *Guatemala*, the year 1632. there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and less fear of punishment any Lustful or Carnal Object. Liberty, in a word, under the Cloak of Piety and Conversion of souls, it is, that draws so many Friers (and commonly the younger sort) to those remoet *American* parts ; where after they have learned some *Indian* Language, they are Licenced with a Parish Charge to live alone out of the sight of a watching Prior or Superiour, out of the bounds and compass of Cloister walls, and authorized to keep house by themselves, and to singe as many Spanish Patacones, as their wits device shall teach them to squeeze out of the newly Converted *Indians* Wealkh. This liberty they could never enjoy in *Spain*, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foul falls of wicked Friers in those parts. For the present I shall return again to my Frier *John Navarro*, who at his coming to *Guatemala*, being made for wit and learning, Master and Reader of Divinity, and much esteemed of for his acute Preaching, among many others got the estimation and love of a chief Gentlewoman, (*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem testa diu*) who continued in *Navarro* his heart the former scent of the unchast love of *Ameryllis*, so far that the Frier being
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blinded and wounded with *Cupids* Arrow sticking in his heart, ran headlong to quench his lustful thirst upon St. *James* his day, 1635. for better memory of Tragical event (being the *Spaniards* common Advocate, and special Patron of that City, named St. *Jago de Guatemala*) where cruel *Mars* oppressing *Venus* in her wanton Acts, the injured Husband Acting *Mars*, and finding *Navarro*, *Cupids* Page, saluting his *Venus* upon her bed, drew his sword, cutting the Frier first in the head and face; who struggling with death, and purchasing his life with a swift and nimble flight to a Garden, where his own Brother a Frier of the same Order, and Pander to that foul act, entertained the Motherless Children; for the Husband having missed his fatal blow (willingly as some imagined, or unwillingly as others judge) in the Friers heart, wilfully laid it in the throat of his unchast Wife, scarce leaving way for breath to make a speedy Confession of her sin to *Navarro's* Brother; who tending her soul, as much as his Brother had tendred her body, absolved her from her sin, finding signs, though no uttering speech of Repentance, while the murderer fled, and the murdered lay in the door of her house for a sad object to all, that immediately flocked thither to see that bloody Tragedy. The Wife being the same day buried, the Husband being retired to a close Sanctuary, *Navarro* was carried to his Convent to be Cured; and after his Cure, was banished that Country; whom two years after it was my chance to meet in *Carthagen*a returning to *Spain* with his scarr'd face, bearing the mark of his lascivious life, and that liberty which he had enjoyed in *America*. Such are the fruits of the Zeal of those wretches, who upbraid our Church and Ministers for want of Zeal to labour in the Conversion of Infidels. Who when they arrive to those parts, are entertained with ringing of Bells, with sounding of Trumpets most part of the way as they Travel, and as Apostles are received by the *Indians*, though soon like *Judas* they fall from their calling, and for Pleasure and Covetousness sell away Christ from their souls. *England* may here learn to beware of such Converters, who are daily by name of Missionaries sent hither by the Pope to

Preach among us Popery; but like *Navarro* come to feed and cherish their wanton lusts, as I could give many instances, might I not be censured for long digressions in mingling *English Histories* with my *American Travels*.

C H A P. IV.

Shewing to what Provinces of the East and West-India's belonging to the Crown of Castilia are sent Missions of Friars and Jesuits. And especially of the Mission sent in the year 1625.

IN all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in *America*, there are two sorts of *Spaniards* more opposite one to another, than in *Europe* the *Spaniard* is opposite to the *French*, or to the *Hollander*, or to the *Portugal*; to wit, they that are born in any parts of *Spain* and go thither, and they that are born there of *Spanish* Parents, whom the *Spaniards* to distinguish them from themselves, term *Criolios*, signifying the Natives of that Country. This hatred is so great, that I dare say, nothing might be more advantagious than this, to any other Nation that would Conquer *America*. And nothing more easily gained than the wills and affections of the Natives of the Country, to join with any other Nation to free and rescue themselves from that subjection, or kind of slavery, which they suffer under the hard usage of the *Spaniards*, and their partial Government and Justice toward them, and those that come from *Spain*. This is so grievous to the poor *Criolios* or Natives, that my self have often heard them say, they would rather be subject to any other Prince, nay to the *Hollanders*, than to the *Spaniards*, if they thought they might enjoy their Religion; and others wishing the *Hollanders*, when they took *Truxillio* in *Honduras*, had staid in it and enjtredd further into the Land, they should have been welcome to them; and that the Religion they enjoyed with so much slavery, was nothing sweet unto them. This mortal hatred
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betwixt these two sorts of *Spaniards*, made the *Criolios* so ready to joyn against the Marquess of *Gelves* Viceroy of *Mexico*, in the Tumult and Mutiny of that City, wherein they cleaving to *Don Alonso de Zerna*, the Arch-Bishop, caused the Viceroy to escape for his life by flight, and would then have utterly rooted out the *Spanish* Government, had not some Priests dissuaded them from it; but of this I shall speak more largely hereafter. The cause of this deadly hatred hath proceeded from a jealousy which the *Spaniards* have ever had of the *Criolios*, that they would fain withdraw themselves first from the Commerce with *Spain*, and secondly, from the Government which is laid upon them; which is such, that the *Criolios* must be always under, and a subject, always governed, but scarce any a Governour. Never yet was there seen any *Criolio* made Viceroy of *Mexico*, or *Peru*; or President of *Guatemala*, or *Santafe*, or *St. Domingo*; or Governour of *Yucacan*, *Cartagena*, *Havana*; or *Alcalde*, Mayor (as they call them) of *Soconusco*, *Chiapa*, *San Salvador*, and such like places of credit. So likewise in the Courts of Chancery, as *St. Domingo*, *Mexico*, *Guatemala*, *Lima*, and the rest; where commonly there are Six, called *Oydores* and one *Fiscal*, scarce one of them to be found a *Criolio*, or Native of the Country; though there be among them those that descended of the chief Conquerors; as in *Lima* and *Peru* the *Pizarros*, in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca* the house of the Marquess *Dell Valle*, *Ferdinando Cortes* his Successors, others of the house of *Giron*, others of the house of *Alvarado*, others of the *Gusmanes*, finally many of the chiefest houses of *Spain*; yet none of these ever preferred to any dignity. And not only thus are they kept from Offices, but daily affronted by the *Spaniards* as incapable of any Government, and termed half *Indians* by them.

Which general contempt hath also spread it self in the Church, where no *Criolio* Priest is scarce ever preferred to be a Bishop, or Canon in a Cathedral Church, but all such as come from *Spain*. So likewise in the Religious Orders they have many years endeavoured to keep under and suppress such as have been admitted to their Orders of the Natives of the Country, lest the number of them should prevail against

those that are brought from *Spain*; they have been very nice in choosing of them, and though they have been forced to admit of some, yet still the Provincials, the Priors, and all Superiors have been *Spaniards* born in *Spain*. Till now lately some Provinces have got the upper hand and prevailed against the *Spaniards*, and have so filled their Cloisters with *Criolios* or Natives, that they have utterly refused to admit the supplies of *Spanish* Missions which formerly were sent unto them, and till this day are sent to others. In the Province of *Mexico* there are Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, Carmelites, Mercenarians, and Jesuits, whereof the Jesuits and Carmelites only to this day prevail against *Criolios*, bringing every two or three years Missions from *Spain*. The last Mission that was sent to the Mercenarians was the year 1625. and then was the opposition such between that Mission and the *Criolios*, that in the Election of the next Provincial in their Cloister of *Mexico*, the Friers drew knives one against another, and were like to kill each other, had not the Viceroy gone to their Cloister to make Peace, and Imprison some of them. Yet at last by the multitude of voices the Native party prevailed, and till this day have exempted themselves from *Spanish* Missions, alledging (as others have done) that they have Friers enough in their Cloisters, and need none to be sent them from *Spain*; submitting themselves to the Pope, and presenting to him as stately gifts as ever *Spaniards* did before them. In the Province of *Guaxaca* none admit of Missionaries from *Spain*; true it is, the Dominicans are but newly subdued by the *Criolian* party; and as yet are strongly pleading at *Rome* for *Spanish* Friers, alledging that the glory and lustre of their Religion hath been much blurr'd since the non-admittance of supplies of their Zealous Compatriots. The Province of *Guatemala*, (which is of a large extent) containing *Guatemala*, *Chiapa*, the *Zoquer*, part of *Tabasco*, the *Zeldales*, the *Sacapulas*, the *Vera Paz*, all the Coast lying to the South Sea, *Suchutepeques* and *Soconusco*, *Comayagua*, *Honduras*, *St. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, hath in it these Orders chiefly, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, (who are subject to *Mexico* being one poor Cloister in *Guatemala*) Jesuits also in

Guatemala

Guatemala subject to the Government of *Mexico* and Mercenarians, whereof the three Orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians, are the only Preachers and Parish-Priests throughout all the forenamed Provinces. And these three Orders have still kept under the *Criolian* party, never as yet suffering any of them to be Provincial, bringing every two or three years, some one year and some another, Missions of Friars from *Spain* to maintain and keep up their faction against the *Criolians*. The Provinces of *Peru* being more distant from *Spain*, and hard to come to by Sea, have no Missions sent unto them. There are of the most Romish Religious Orders, yet the chief are Dominicans; and they all live above their Vow of Poverty, abounding in Wealth, Riot, Liberty and Pleasures. In the Kingdom of *Nuevo reino de Granada*, and *Cartagena*, *Santa fee*, *Barinas*, *Popayan*, and the Government of *St. Martha*, are Dominicans, Jesuits, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustines and Mercenarians; whereof the Dominicans, Jesuits and Franciscans, till this day admit of Missions from *Spain*. The Island of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *la Margarita*, *Puerto rico*, all are subject to the head Provincial of *Santo Domingo*, being Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans, and have all now and then Missions from *Spain*. *Yucatan* hath in it only Franciscans, who live most richly and plentifully, and strongly uphold the Spanish faction with European Missions: *Mechoacan* belongeth to the Mexican Friars, and is in the same condition as was said before of *Mexico*. Thus have I briefly run over all *America* that belongs to the Crown of *Castilia*: for the *East-India's* they belong to the Crown of *Portugal* and *Brasil*, as first discovered and possessed by the *Portugals*, and now doubtless are subject to King *John*, the new King of *Portugal*. Yet the Islands of *Philippinas* are subject to the King of *Spain*, and there are Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines and Jesuits, all which lie still in wait in *Manila* the Metropolitan City, for some sure shipping to *Japan*, to Convert that Kingdom. And though they admit of few *Criolio's* among them, especially some of their Converts of *China* and *Japan*; yet their chief number and strength is of Spanish Missionaries, who are more frequently

conveyed thither than to the parts aforementioned of *America*. First they are sent in the Ships that are bound for *Nueva Espana* and *Mexico*; and after they have rested two or three months in *Mexico*, they are sent to *Acapulco*, lying on the *Mar del Zur*, there they are Shipped in two great Caracks which yearly go and come richly laden with *China*, *Japan*, and all *East-India* ware from *Manila* to *Acapulco* to enrich *Mexico* with far greater riches than any are sent by the North Sea from *Spain*. The Voyage from *Acapulco* thither, is longer than from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and easie and pleasant, though the return is far longer and most dangerous. The year of our Lord 1625. there were four Missions sent; the one of Franciscans to *Yucatan*, the other of Mercenarians to *Mexico*, the other two of Dominicans and Jesuits to *Philippinas*. At which time it was my fortune to reside among the Dominicans in *Xerez* in *Andaluzia*. The Popes Commissary for that Mission was Frier *Mattheo de la Villa*, who having a Commission for thirty, and having gathered some 24 of them about *Castilia* and *Madrid*, sent them by degrees well stored with mony to *Cales*, to take up a convenient Lodging for himself and the rest of his crew till the time of the setting forth of the *Indian Fleet*. This Commissary named one Frier *Antonio Calvo* to be his substitute, and to visit the Cloisters of *Andaluzia* lying in his way; namely *Cordova*, *Sevil*, *St. Lucar*, and *Xerez*, to try if out of them he could make up his compleat number of thirty, which was after fully compleated. About the end of *May* came this worthy *Calvo* to *Xerez*, and in his Company one *Antonio Melendez* of the College of *St. Gregory* in *Valladolid*, with whom I had formerly near acquaintance. This *Melendez* greatly rejoyced when he had found me; and being well stocked with *Indian Patacones*, the first night of his coming invited me to his chamber to a stately Supper. The good *Xerez Sack* which was not spared, set my friend in such a heat of Zeal of Converting *Japonians*, that all his talk was of those parts never yet seen, and at least six thousand Leagues distant. *Bacchus* metamorphosed him from a Divine into an Orator, and made a *Cicero* in parts of *Rhetorical Eloquence*. Nothing was omitted that might exhort

exhort me to joyn with him in that Function, which he thought was Apostolical. *Nemo Propheta in patria sua*, was a great argument with him ; sometimes he propounded Martyrdom for the Gospel sake, and the glory after it, to have his life and death Printed, and of poor Frier *Antony* a Clothiers Son of *Segovia* to be stiled *St. Antony* by the Pope, and made Collateral with the Apostles in Heaven ; thus did *Bacchus* make him Ambitious of Honor upon the Earth, and preferment in Heaven. But when he thought his Rhetorick had not prevailed, then would he Act a *Midas* and *Cræsus*, fancying the *India's* Paved with Tiles of Gold and Silver, the Stones to be Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds, the Trees to be hung with clusters of Nutmegs bigger than the clusters of Grapes of *Canaan*, the Fields to be Planted with Sugar-canes, which should so sweeten the Chocolet, that it should far exceed the Milk and Hony of the *Land of Promise* ; the Silks of *China* he conceived so common, that the Sails of the Ships were nothing else ; finally he dreamed of *Midas's* happiness, that whatsoever he touched should be turned to Gold : Thus did *Xerez* Nectar make my friend and mortified Frier, a Covetous Worldling. And yet from a Rich Covetous Merchant did it shape him to a Courtier in pleasures ; fancying the *Philippinas* to be the *Eden*, where was all joy without tears, mirth without sadness, laughing without sorrow, comfort without grief, plenty without want, no not of *Eves* for *Admas*, excepted only that in it should be no forbidden fruit, but all lawful for the tast and sweetning of the palate ; and as *Adam* would have been as God, so conceived *Melendez* himself a God in that *Eden* ; whom Travelling, *Indian* Waits and Trumpets should accompany ; and to whom, entring into any Town, *Nosegays* should be presented, Flowers and Boughs should be strowed in his way ; Arches should be erected to ride under, Bells for joy should be rung, and *Indian* knees for duty and homage, as to a God, should be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a Paradise, he fell into a strong Rhetorical point of curiosity ; finding out a Tree of knowledge, and a Philosophical maxim, *Omnis homo naturaliter scire desiderat*,

siderat, man naturally inclines to know more and more ; which knowledge he fancied could be no where more furnished with rare curiosities than in those parts ; for there should the Gold and Silver, which here are fingered, in their growth in the bowels of the Earth be known ; there should the Pepper be known in its season, the Nutmeg and Clove, the Cinnamon as a rine or bark on a Tree ; the fashioning of the Sugar from a green growing Cane into a Loaf ; the strange shaping the *Cochinel* from a worm to so rich a Scarlet die ; the changing of the *Tinta* which is but grass with stalk and leaves into an *Indigo* black die, should be taught and learned ; and without much labour thus should our ignorance be instructed with various and sundry curiosities of knowledge and understanding. Finally, though *Xerez* liquor (Grapes bewitching tears) had put this bewitching Eloquence into my *Antonies* brain yet he doubted not to prefer before it his Wine of *Philippinas*, growing on tall and high trees of Coco, wherein he longed to drink a *Spanish* Brindis in my company to all his friends remaining behind in *Spain*. Who would not be moved by these his arguments to follow him, and his *Calvo*, or bald pated Superior ? Thus Supper being ended my *Melendez* desire to know how my heart stood affected to his Journey ; and breaking out into a *Voto a Dios* with his Converting Zeal, he swore he should have no quiet nights rest till he were fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him. And having learned the Poets expression, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames ?* he offered unto me half a dozen of *Spanish* pistols, assuring me that I should want nothing, and that the next morning *Calvo* should furnish me with whatsoever monies I needed, for to buy things necessary for the comfort of so long and tedious a Journey. To whom I answered, suddain resolutions might bring future grief and sorrow, and that I should that night lie down and take Counsel with my pillow, assuring him that for his sake I would do much, and that if I resolved to go, my resolution should draw on another friend of mine, an *Irish* Frier, named *Thomas Delcon*. Thus took I my leave of my *Melendez*, and retired my self to my Chamber and Bed, which that night was no place of repose
and

and rest to me as formerly it had been. I must needs say *Melendez* his arguments, though most of them moved me not; yet the opportunity offered me to hide my self from all sight and knowledge of my dearest friends, stirred up in me a serious thought of an angry and harsh letter, which not long before I had received out of *England* from mine own Father, signifying unto me the displeasure of most of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation against me, for that having spent so much money in training me up to learning I had not only utterly refused to be of the Jesuits Order (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them. And that he would have thought his money better spent, if I had been a Scullion in a College of Jesuits, than if I should prove a General of the Order of Dominicans; that I should never think to be welcome to my Brothers or kindred in *England*, nor to him; that I should not expect ever more to hear from him, nor dare to see him if ever I returned to *England*; but expect that he would set upon me even Jesuits, whom I had deserted and opposed, to chase me out of my Country; that *Hailing* house though he had lost it with much more means for his Religion during his life; yet with the consent of my eldest Brother (now Governour of *Oxford* and Mass-founder in that our Famous University) he would sell it away; that neither from the Estate, or money made of it, I might enjoy a Childs part due unto me. These reasons stole that nights rest from my body, and sleep from my eyes, tears keeping them unclosed and open, lest *Cynthia's* black and mourning Mantle should offer to cover, close and shut them. To this Letters consideration was joyned a strong opposition, which serious Studies and ripeness of Learning, with a careful discussion of some School-points and Controversies had bred in me against some chief of the Popish Tenets. Well could I have wished to have come to *England*, there to satisfy and ease my troubled Conscience; well considered I, that if I staid in *Spain*, when my Studies were fully finished, the Dominicans with a Popes Mandamus would send me home for a Missionary to my Country. But than well considered I the sight of a
wrathful

wrathful Father, the power of a furious Brother a Colonel, who (as now landed in *England* to search me out, and do me mischief) then, when *Zephyrus* with a pleasant gale seconded his Popish Zeal, might violently assault me. Well considered I the increased rout and rabble of both their great friends, the Jesuits, what with Court friends power, what with subtle Plots and Policies would soon and easily hunt me out of *England*. Lastly, well considered I my *Melendez* his last inducing Argument of the increase of knowledge natural by the insight of rich *America* and flourishing *Asia*, and of knowledge Spiritual by a long contemplation of that new Planted Church, and of those Church Planters lives and Conversations. Wherefore after a whole nights strife and inward debate, as the glorious Planet began to banish nights dismal horror, rising with a bright and cheerful countenance, rose in my mind a firm and settled resolution to visit *America*, and there to abide till such time as Death should surprise my angry Father, *Ignatius Loiola* his devoted *Mecenas*, and till I might there gain out of *Potosi* or *Sacatecas* Treasure that might Counterpoise that Childs part, which for detesting the four-cornered Cap, and black Coat of Jesuits, my Father had deprived me of. So in recompence of the Supper which my friend *Anthony* had bestowed upon me, I gave him a most pleasant Breakfast by discovering unto him my purpose and resolution to accompany him in his long and Naval Journey. And at noon I Feasted him with a Dinner of one dish more than his Breakfast, to wit, the company also of my *Irish* friend *Thomas De Leon*. After Dinner we both were presented to *Calvo* the bald pate Superior; who immediately imbraced us, promised to us many curtesies in the way, read unto us a Memorandum of what dainties he had provided for us, what varieties of Fish and Flesh: how many Sheep, how many Gammons of Bacon, how many fat Hens, how many Hogs, how many Barrels of white Bisket, how many Jars of Wine of *Cassalla*, what store of Rice, Figs, Olives, Capers, Rayfins, Lemons, sweet and sower Oranges, Pomgranets, Comfits, Preserves, Conserves, and all sorts of *Portugal* sweet meats: he flattered us that he would make us Masters of Arts, and

and of Divinity in *Manila*; then opened he his Purse, and freely gave us to spend that day in *Xerez* and to buy what most we had a mind to, and to carry us to *Cales*; Lastly he opened his hand to bestow upon us the holy Fathers Benediction, that no mischief might befall us in our way; I expected some Relick or nail of his great Toe, or one of his Velvet Pantofles to kiss; but peradventure with frequent kissing, through *Italy* and all *Castilia* it was even worn thredbare. Much were we frowned at by the Dominicans our chiefest friends of *Xerez*, but the liberty which with *Melendez* we enjoyed that day about the City of *Xerez* took from us all sad thoughts, which so sudden a departure from our friends might have caused in us. And *Calvo* much fearing that the love of some Nuns (too powerful with *Spanish* Friers) might yet keep us back from pursuing our purposed Journey, with cunning Policy perswaded us to depart from *Xerez* the next morning. Which willingly we performed in company of *Melendez* and another *Spanish* Frier of that City (leaving our Chests and Books to *Calvo* to send after us) and that day we Travelled like *Spanish* Dons upon our little Boricoes, or Asses towards *Puerto de Santa Maria*, taking in our way that stately Convent of *Carthusians*, and the River of *Guadalethe*, the former the Poets River of oblivion, tasting of the Fruits of those *Elysian* Fields and Gardens and drinking of *Guadalethes* Crystal streames; that so perpetual oblivion might blind and cover all those Abstractive Species which the intuitive knowledge of *Spains* and *Xerezes* pleasant objects had deeply stamped in our thoughts and hearts. At evening we came to that *Puerto* so famous for harbouring *Spains* chief Gallies, and at that time *Don Frederique de Toledo*; who hearing of the arrival of four *Indian* Apostles, would not lose that occasion of some Soul sanctification (which he thought might be his purchase) by entertaining us that night at Supper. The Town thought their streets blessed with our walking in them, and wished they might enjoy some Relicks from us, whom they beheld as appointed to Martyrdom, for Christ and Antichrist sake together; the Gally-slaves strove who should sound their Waits and Trumpets most joyfully, *Don Frederique* spared

no cost in Fish and Flesh that night, doubting not but that receiving four Prophets, he should receive a fourfold reward hereafter. Supper being ended, we were by *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen convey'd to the Cloister of the *Minims* appointed by *Don Frederique* to lodge us that night, who to shew their Brotherly love washed our feet, and so recommended us to quiet and peaceable rest. The next morning after a stately Breakfast bestowed upon us by those poor Mendicant Friars, a Boat was prepared for us and *Don Frederique* his Gentlemen to wait on us, and to convey us to *Cales*. Where we found out our fellow Apostles, and the Popes Commissary Frier *Matthew de la Villa*, who welcomed us with *Rones* Indulgences, *à culpa & à pena*, and with a flourishing Table stored with Fish and Flesh for Dinner. There we continued in daily honour and estimation, enjoying the sights most pleasant which *Cales* both by Sea and Land could afford unto us, until the time of the Fleets departing. Which when it drew near, our grand Apostle Frier *Matthew de la Villa*, who we thought burned with Zeal of Martyrdom, took his leave of us; shewing us the Popes Commission to nominate in his place whom he listed, and naming bald *Calvo* for Superior, returning himself to *Madrid* with more desire to enjoy a Bishoprick in *Spain* (as we understood) than to sacrifice his life in *Japan*. His departure caused a mutiny amongst us, and cooled the spirits of two of our Missionaries, who privily fled from us. The rest were pleased with honest *Calvo*, for that he was a simple and ignorant old man, (whom they could more jeer than any way respect) more Scullion-like in dayly greazing his white habit with handling his fat Gammons of Bacon, than like a Popes Commissary; for his Masters Toe the proudest of our Missioners than would willingly have kissed; yet *Calvo's* greasie fists the humblest would loath to have kissed. Thus under a Sloven was that Apostolical Mission to be convey'd first to *Mexico*, three thousand *Spanish* Leagues from *Spain*, and afterwards three thousand Leagues further from thence to *Manila*, the Metropolitan and Court City of the Islands of *Philippinas*.

C H A P. V.

Of the Indian Fleet that departed from Cales, Anno Dom. 1625. And of some remarkable passages in that Voyage.

U Pon the first of July in the afternoon, Don Carlos de Ybarra Admirall of the Galeons that then lay in the Bay of Cales, gave Order that a warning Peece should be shot off to warn all Passengers, Soldiers, and Mariners to betake themselves the next morning to their Ships. O what was it to see some of our Apostolical company who had enjoyed much liberty for a month in Cales, who had began to entangle their hearts with some young Nuns love, now hang down their heads, and Act with sad and demure looks, loth to depart, and cry out *Bonum est nos hic esse*, It is good for us to be here; and amongst them one Fryer John de Pacheco made the warning Peece to be a warning to him to hide himself (who could no more be found amongst his fellow Missioners) thinking it a part of hard cruelty to forsake a young Franciscan Nun to whom he had engaged and wholly devoted his heart. What was it to see others with weeping eyes piercing through the Iron gates the tender Virgins hearts, leaving and bequeathing unto them some pledges of their wanton love, and receiving from them some Cordials against Sea-sickness, Caps, Shirts and Hand-kerchiefs, to eye them or wear them when *Æolus* or *Neptune* should most oppose them? The second of July in the morning early notice was given unto us, that one Fryer Pablo de Londres, an old crab-fac'd English Fryer living in St. Lucar had got the Duke of Medina his Letter and sent it to the Governor of Cales charging him to seek for me and to stay me, signifying the King of Spains will and pleasure, that no English should pass to the India's, having a Country of their own to Convert; this did that old Fryer to stop my passage, having before wrote unto me many Letters
to

to the same purpose, and got a Letter from that father Master that was in England before with the Count of Gondomar, alias Frier Diego de la Fluente, then Provincial of Castilia, and sent unto me, wherein that Superior offered me many kind offers of preferment, if I would desist from my Journey, and return to him to Castilia: but none of these Letters could prevail with me; nor the Governors searching stop me; for immediately I was conveyed alone to our Ship, and there closely hid in a Barrel that was emptied of Bisket to that purpose; so that when the Governor came a Ship-board to enquire for an English man, Frier Calvo having the father of liers in my stead about him, resolutely denied me, who could not be found, because not sought for in a Barrels belly. This found our Apostles sport and talk that first day. Then went out the Ships one by one crying *A dios, A dios*, and the Town replying *Buen viaei, Buen viaei*; when all were out and no hopes of enjoying more *Cales* pleasures and liberty, then began my young Friars to wish themselves again at Land, some began presently to feed the Fishes with their Nuns sweet dainties; others to wonder at the number of stately Ships, which with eight Galeons that went to convey us beyond the Islands of *Canaria* were forty one in all; some for one Port of the *India's*, and some for another. To *Puerto Rico* went that year two Ships; to *Santo Domingo* three, to *Jamaica* two, to *Margarita* one, to the *Havana* two, to *Cvrtagena* three, to *Campeche* two, to *Honduras* and *Truxillo* two, and to *St. John de Ulhua*, or *Vera Cruz* sixteen; all Laden with Wines, Figs, Raisins, Olives, Oyle, Cloth, Carries, Linnen, Iron, and Quick-silver for the Mines, to fetch out the pure Silver of *Sacatecas* from the earthen dross from whence it is digged. The persons of most note that went that year was first the Marquess de *Seralvo* with his Lady, who went for Viseroy of *Mexico*, instead of the Count de *Gelves* then retired to a Cloister for fear of the Common people, who the year before had mutined against him; this Marquess went in the Ship called *St. Andrew*, and with him in the same Ship went *Don Martin de Carrillo* a Priest, and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*; who was sent for

Visiter

Visiter General to Mexico, to examine the strife between the *Conde de Gelves* and the Arch-bishop, and the mutiny that for their sakes had happened ; with full Commission and Authority to Imprison, Banish, Hang and Execute all Delinquents. In the Ship called *Santa Gertrudis* went *Don John Nino de Toledo*, who was sent to be President of *Manila* in *Philippinas*, and in the same Ship with him went the whole Mission of thirty Jesuits sent to *Philippinas*; who had already got the favour of the President, and politickly sought to be Passengers in the same Ship, that so they might the more ingratiate themselves to him ; for this cunning Generation studies purposely how to insinuate themselves with Kings, Princes, Great men, Rulers and Commanders. In the Ship called *St. Antony* went my Dominican Mission of twenty seven Friars. In the Ship called *Nuestra Sennora de Regla* went twenty four Mercenarian Friars bound for *Mexico* ; part of those that afterwards drew their Knives to slash and cut the *Criolio's* of their Profession. Thus with the Convoy of eight Galeons for fear of *Turks* and *Hollanders* (whom the *Spanish Dons* shake and tremble at) set forward our Fleet with a pleasant and prosperous gale, with a quiet and milkyn Sea, till we came to the Gulf, called *Golfo de Teguas*, or of *kicking Mares*, whose waves and swelling surges did so kick our Ships, that we thought they would have kicked our *St. Anthonio* gilded Image out of our Ship, and bereaved my *Antonei Melendez* of his gilt and painted Idol, (to whom he dayly bowed and prayed against the merciless Element) and that all our Ships Galleries would have been torn from us with the spurnings and blows of that outrageous Gulf. But at last having overcome the danger of this Gulf, the eight Galeons took their leave of us, and left our Merchant Ships now to shift for themselves. The departure of these Galeons was most solemnly performed on each side, saluting each other with their Ordnance, visiting each other with their Cock-boats, the Admiral of the Fleet Feasting with a stately Dinner in his Ship, the Admiral of the Galeons ; and the like performing most of the other Ships to the several Colonels and Captains and other their Allied Friends that

were of the Royal Fleet. Here it was worth noting to hear the sighs of many of our *Indian Apostles*, wishing they might return again in any of those Galeons to *Spain*; their Zeal was now cold, and some endeavoured many ways for *Calvo* his Licence to return (which could not be granted) others employed themselves most of that day in writing Letters to their friends, and Sisters in *Cales*. Thus Dinner being ended, and the two Admirals solemnly taking their leaves, the warning piece being shot off for the Galeons to joyn together and turn their course to *Spain*, we had mutual adieu, crying one to another *Buen Viaje, Buen passage*, we kept our course towards *America*, sailing before the wind constantly till we came to *America*; A thing worth noting in that Voyage from *Spain* to the *Indies*; that after the Islands of *Canaria* are once left, there is one constant wind, continuing to *America* still the same without any opposition or contrariety of other winds; and this so prosperous and full on the sails, that did it blow constantly, and were it not interrupted with many calms, doubtless the Voyage might be ended in a month or less. But such were the calms that many times we had, that we got not to the sight of any land till the twentieth day of *August*: so that near six weeks we sailed as on a River of fresh water, much delighting and sporting our selves in Fishing, many sorts of Fishes, but especially one, which by the *Spaniards* is called *Dorado*, the golden Fish, for the skin and scales of it that glitter like Gold; of this sort we found such abundance, that no sooner was the hook with any small bait cast into the Sea, than presently the *Dorado* was caught, so that we took them many times for pleasure, and cast them again into the Sea, being a Fish fitter to be eaten fresh than salted. Many were the Feasts and sports used in the Ships, till we discovered the first Land, or Island called *Disseada*. The last day of *July* (being according to the Jesuits Order, and *Romes* appointment, the day of *Ignatius* their Patron and founder of their Religion) the gallant Ship called *S. Gertrudis* (wherein went thirty Jesuits) for theirs and their Saints sake made to all the rest of the Fleet a most gallant shew, she being trimmed round about with white Linpen, her flags and

top gallants representing some the Jesuits Arms, others the Picture of *Ignatius* himself, and this from the evening before, shooting off that night at least fifty shot of Ordnance, besides four or five hundred Squibs (the weather being very calm) and all her Masts and Tacklings hung with Paper Lanthorns having burning lights within them ; the Waits ceased not from sounding, nor the *Spaniards* from singing all night. The days solemn sport was likewise great ; the Jesuits increasing the *Spaniards* joy with an open Procession in the Ship ; singing their superstitious Hymns and Anthems to their supposed Saint ; and all this seconded with roaring Ordnance, no Powder being spared for the compleating that days joy and triumph. The fourth of *August* following, being the day which *Rome* doth dedicate to *Dominick*, the first founder of the Dominicans or Preachers Order, the Ship wherein I was, named *St. Anthony*, strove to exceed *St. Gertrudis*, by the assistance of the twenty seven Dominicans that were in her. All was performed both by night and day ; as formerly in *St. Gertrudis*, both with Powder, Squibs, Lights, Waits and Musick, And further did the Dominicans joy and triumph exceed the Jesuits, in that they invited all the Jesuits, with *Don John Nino de Toledo* the President of *Manila*, with the Captain of the Ship of *St. Gertrudis* to a stately Dinner both of Fish and Flesh ; which Dinner being ended, for the afternoons sport they had prepared a Comedy out of famous *Lope de Vega*, to be Acted by some Souldiers, Passengers and some of the younger sort of Friars ; which I confess was stately Acted and set forth both in shows and good Apparel, in that narrow compass of our Ship, as might have been upon the best Stage in the Court of *Madrid*. The Comedy being ended, and a Banquet of sweet meats prepared for the closing up of that days mirth, both ours, and *St. Gertrudis* Cock-boat carried back our invited friends, bidding each other adieu with our Waits and chiefest Ordnance. Thus went we on our Sea Voyage without any storm, with pleasant gales, many calms, dayly sports and pastimes, till we discovered the first Land called *Deseada* upon the twentieth day of *August*.

CHAP. VI.

*Of our discovery of some Islands, and what trouble
befel us in one of them.*

THe Admiral of our Fleet wondring much at our slow sailing, who from the second of *July* to the 19 of *August* had seen nor discovered any Land, save only the Islands of *Canaria*; the same day in the morning called to Council all the Pilots of the Ships, to know their opinions concerning our present being, and the nearness of Land. The Ships therefore drew near unto the Admiral one by one, that every Pilot might deliver his opinion. Here was cause of laughter enough for the Passengers to hear the wise Pilots skill; One saying, we were three hundred Miles, another two hundred, another one hundred, another fifty, another more, another less, all erring much from the truth (as afterward appeared) save only one old Pilot of the smallest Vessel of all, who affirmed resolutely, that with that small gale wherewith we then sailed, we should come to *Guadalupe* the next morning. All the rest laughed at him, but he might well have laughed at them, for the next morning by Sun-rising we plainly discovered an Island call *Desseada* by the *Spaniards*, or the desired Land, for that at the first discovery of the *India's* it was the first Land, the *Spaniards* found, being then as desirous to find some Land after many days sailing as we were. After this Island presently we discovered another called *Marigalante*, then another called *Dominica*, and lastly, another named *Guadalupe*, which was that we aimed at to refresh our selves in, to wash our foul cloaths, and to take in fresh water, whereof we stood in great need. By two or three of the Clock in the afternoon we came to a safe Road lying before the Island, where we cast our Anchors, no ways fearful of the naked Barbarians of that and the other Islands, who with great joy do yearly expect the *Spanish Fleets* coming, and by the
Moons

Moons do reckon the Months, and hereby make their guess at their coming, and prepare some their Sugar Canes, others the Plantin, others the Tortois, some one Provision, some another to barter with the *Spaniards* for their small Haberdash, or Iron, Knives, or such things which may help them in their Wars, which commonly they make against some other Islands. Before our Anchors were cast, out came the *Indians* to meet us in the Canoa's round like Troughs, some whereof had been Painted by our *English*, some by the *Hollanders*, some by the *French*, as might appear by their several Arms, it being a common Road and Harbour to all Nations that sail to *America*.

Before we resolved to go to shore, we tasted of those *Indian* fruits, the Plantin above all pleasing our tasted and Palate. We could not but much wonder at that sight never yet seen by us of people naked, with their hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, with their Faces cut out in several fashions, or flowers, with thin plates hanging at their Noses, like Hog-rings, and fawning upon us like Children; some speaking in their unknown Tongue, others using signs for such things as we imagined they desired. Their sign for some of our *Spanish* Wine was easily perceived, and their request most willingly granted by our men, who with one reasonable Cup of *Spanish* Sack presently tumbled up their heels, and left them like Swine tumbling on the Deck of our Ship. After a while that our people had sported with these rude and Savage *Indians*, our two Cock-boats were ready to carry to shore such as either had Cloaths to Wash, or a desire to Bath themselves in a River of Fresh Water which is within the Island, or a mind to set their feet again upon unmoveable Land, after so many days of uncertain footing in a floating and reeling Ship. But that day being far spent, our Friers resolved to stay in the Ship, and the next whole day to visit the Island; many of the Mariners and Passengers of all the Ships went that evening to shore, some returning that night, and some without fear continuing with the *Indians* all night on shore. The next morning my self and most of our Friers went and having hired some *Spaniards* to wash our Cloaths, we

wandred sometimes all together, sometimes two and two, and sometimes one alone about the Island, meeting with many *Indians*, who did us no hurt, but rather like Children fawned upon us, offering us of their fruits, and begging of us whatsoever toys of pins, points or gloves they espied about us. We ventured to go to some of their houses which stood by a pleasant River, and were by them kindly entertained, eating of their Fish, and wild Deers Flesh. About noon we chanced to meet with some of the Jesuits of *Santa Gertrudis* Ship in the midst of the Mountain, who were very earnest in talk with a *Mulatto* all naked like the rest of the *Indians*. This *Mulatto* was a Christian, born in *Sevil* in *Spain*, and had been slave there formerly to a rich Merchant his name was *Lewis*, and spoke the *Spanish* Language very perfectly. Some twelve years before, he had run away from his Master by reason of hard and slavish usage, and having got to *Cales*, offering his service to a Gentleman then bound for *America*, the Gentleman fearing not that his true Master should ever have more notice of him from a new World, took him a Ship-board with him as his slave. The *Mulatto* remembering the many stripes which he had suffered from his first cruel Master, and fearing that from *America* he might by some intelligence or other be sent back again to *Spain*, and also jealous of his second Master (whose blows he had begun to suffer in the Ship) that he would prove as cruel as his first; when the Ships arrived at *Guadalupe*, resolved rather to die amongst the *Indians* (which he knew might be his hard fortune) than ever more to live in slavery under *Spaniards*. So casting his life upon good or bad fortune, he hid himself among the Trees in the Mountain till the Ships were departed, who after being found by the *Indians*, and giving them some toys which he had got by stealth from his Master, he was entertained by them, they liking him, and he them. Thus continued this poor Christian slave among those Barbarians from year to year; who had care to hide himself at the coming of the *Spanish* Fleet yearly. In twelve years that he had thus continued amongst them, he had learned their Language, was Married to an *Indian*, by whom he had three Children living. The Jesuits
by

by chance having met with him, and perceiving more by the Wooll upon his head, that he was a *Mulatto*, than by his black and tauny skin (for those *Indians* Paint themselves all over with red colour) they presently imagined the truth that he could not come thither but with some *Spaniard* : so entering into discourse with him, and finding him to speak *Spanish*, they got the whole truth of him. Then we joyning with the *Jesuits*, began to perswade the poor Christian to forsake that Heathenish life, wherein his soul could never be saved, promising him if he would go along with us, he should be free from slavery for ever. Poor Soul, though he had lived twelve years without hearing a word of the true God, Worshipping Stocks and Stones with the other Heathens; yet when he heard again of Christ, of eternal Dampation in hells Torments, and of everlasting Salvation in Heavens Joys, he began to weep, assuring us that he would go with us, were it not for his Wife and Children, whom he tenderly loved, and could not forsake them. To this we replied, that he might be a means of saving likewise their Souls, if he would bring them with him; and further that we would assure him that care should be taken that neither he, his Wife, nor Children should ever want means competent for the maintenance of their lives. The *Mulatto* hearkned well to all this, though a suddain fear surprized him, because certain *Indians* passed by, and noted his long conference with us. The poor and timorous *Mulatto* then told us, that he was in danger, for having been known by us, and that he feared the *Indians* would kill him, and suspect that we would steal him away; which if they did, and it were noised about the Island, we should soon see their love changed into cruel rage and Mutiny. We perswaded him not to fear any thing they could do to us; who had Soldiers, Guns and Ordnance to secure ours and his life also, wishing him to resolve to bring his Wife and Children but to the Sea-side, where our men were drying their Cloaths, and would defend him, and a Boat should be ready to convey him with his Wife and Children a Ship-board. The *Mulatto* promised to do as

we had Counsell'd him, and that he would entice his Wife and Children to the Sea-side to barter with us their Wares for ours, desiring some of the Jesuits (whom he said he should know by their black Coats) to be there ready for him with a Cock-boat. *Lewis* departed, as to us he seem'd, resolute in what he had agreed; Our joy likewise was great with the hope of bringing to the light of Christianity five souls out of the darkness of Heathenish Idolatry. The Jesuits who had begun with this *Mulatto* were desirous that the happy end and conclusion might be their glory. So taking their leaves of us, they hastned to the Sea to inform the Admiral of what they had done, and to provide that the Cock-boat of their Ship might be in readiness to receive *Lewis* and his Family. We likewise returned to shore to see if our Shirts and Cloaths were dry. Most of us (among whom my self was one) finding our Linnen ready and our Boat on shore went aboard to our Ship, leaving two or three of our company with many of other Ships on shore, especially the Jesuits waiting for their prey. When we came to our Ship, most of the Friars with what love they had found in the Barbarians, were inflamed with a new Zeal of staying in that Island, and Converting those Heathens to Christianity, apprehending it an easie business (they being a loving people) and no ways dangerous to us, by reason of the Fleet that yearly passeth that way, and might enquire after our usage. But by some it was objected, that it was a rash and foolish Zeal with great hazard of their lives, and many inconveniences were objected against so blind and simple an attempt. But those that were most Zealous slighted all reasons, saying that the worst that could happen to them could be but to be Butchered, sacrificed and eaten up; and that for such a purpose they had come out of *Spain* to be Crowned with the Crown of Martyrdom for Confessing and Preaching Jesus Christ. While we were hot in this solemn consultation, behold an uproar on the shore; our people running to and fro to save their lives, leaving their Cloaths, and hastning to the Cock-boats, filling them so fast
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and so full, that some sunk with all the people in them ; above all, most pitiful and lamentable were the cries of some of our women, many casting themselves into the Sea choosing rather to venture to be taken up by some Boat, or at worst to be Drowned, than to be taken and to be cruelly Butchered by the *Indians*. We wondering at this sudden alteration, not knowing the cause of it, at last perceived the Arrows to come out thick from the Wood from behind the Trees, and thereby guessed at the truth that the Barbarians were Mutined. The uproar lasted not half an our, for presently our Admiral shot off two or three Peeeces of Ordnance and sent a Company of Soldiers to shore to Guard it and our people with their Muskets ; which was well and suddenly performed, and all the *Indians* soon dispersed. Three of our Friers who had remained on the Land, our Cock-boat brought them to us with more of our Passengers, among whom one Frier *John De la Cueva*, was dangerously shot and wounded in one of his Shoulders ; this Frier had been earnest with me to stay on shore with him, which I refused, and so escaped that cruel and fiery onset of the *Indians*. Besides those that were Drowned and taken up at shore (which were fifteen persons) two Jesuits were found dead upon the Sand, three more dangerously wounded, three Passengers likewise slain, ten wounded, besides three more of the Fleet which could never be found alive or dead, and were thought to have been found in the Wood by the *Indians*, and to have been Murthered by them. Our *Mulatto Lewis* came not according to his word ; but in his stead a sudden Army of treacherous *Indians*, which gave us motive enough to think, that either *Lewis* himself had discovered the Jesuits Plot to take him away with his Wife and Children ; or that the *Indians* suspecting it by his talk with us, had made him confess it. And certainly this was the ground of their Mutiny ; for whereas *Lewis* before had said, that he would know the Jesuits by their black Coats, it seems he had well described them above all the rest unto the *Indians*, for (as it was after well observed) most of their

Arrows

Arrows were directed to the black Marks, and so five of them in little above a quarter of an hour slain and wounded. All that night our Souldiers Guarded the Coast, often shooting off their Muskets to affright the *Indians*, who appeared no more unto us. All that night we slept little, for we watched our Ship, lest the *Indians* in their Canoas should set upon us and take us asleep. Some lamented the dead and drowned, others pitied our wounded Frier *John de la Cueva*, who all that night lay in great torment and misery, others laughed and jeered at those Zealous Friars, who would have stayed in that Island to Convert the Barbarians, saying they had their full desire of Martyrdom, for had they been but that night with the *Indians*, doubtless they had been shred for their Suppers. But now we perceived their Zeal was cool, and they desired no more to stay with such a Barbarous kind of people; but rather wished the Admiral would shoot off the warning Peece for us all to take up our Anchors, and depart from so dangerous a place. In the morning all the Ships made hast to take in such fresh water as was necessary for their Voyage yet to *America*, a strong Watch being kept along the Coast, and a Guard Guarding our men to the River; and all the morning while this was doing not one *Indian* could be found or seen, nor our three men that were missing, appeared. Thus at noon with a pleasant and prosperous Gale we Hoisted up our Sails, leaving the Islands and Harbour of *Guadalupe*.

C H A P. VII.

Of our further Sailing to St. John de Ulhua, aliàs, Vera Crux; and of ur Landing there.

UPon the twenty second of *August*, we Sailed so pleasantly that we soon left the sight of the Islands; The *Indians* uproar had weaved for us a thred of long discourse;

discourse; It made some hate their calling to teach and Convert *Indians*. But *Calvo* he encouraged us, telling us many stories of the good and gentle nature of the *Indians* of *Philippinas*, to whom we were going, and that most of them were Christians already, who esteemed their Priests as Gods upon the Earth; and that those that were not as yet Converted to Christianity, were kept in awe by the power of the *Spaniards*. Our chief care the first two or three days was to look to our Plantins which we got from the *Indians*. This Fruit pleased us all exceedingly, judging it to be as good, or better than any Fruit in *Spain*. It is not gathered Ripe from the Tree; but being gathered Green, it is hung up some days, and so Ripens and grows Yellow and Mellow, and every bit as sweet as Honey. Our Sugar Canes were no less pleasing unto us, whilst chewing the pith, we refreshed and sweetned our mouths with the juice. We fed for the first week almost upon nothing but *Tortois*; which seemed likewise to us that had never before seen it, one of the Sea monsters, the shell being so hard as to bear any Cart Wheel, and in some above two yards broad; when first they were opened, we were amazed to see the number of Eggs that were in them, a thousand being the least that we judged to be in some of them. Our *Spaniards* made with them an excellent broth with all sorts of Spices. The meat seemed rather Flesh than Sea Fish, which being corned with Salt, and hung up two or three days in the Air, tasted like Veal. Thus our Hens, our Sheep, our powdred Beef, and Gammons of Bacon, which we brought from *Spain*, were some days slighted, while with greedy Stomachs we fell hard to our Sea-Veal.

After four days Sail, our Frier *John de la Cueva*, who had been shot by the *Indians*, died; all his body being swelled, which gave us just occasion to think, that the Arrow which was shot into his shoulder was Poisoned. His Burial was as solemnly performed as could be at Sea. His Grave being the whole Ocean, he had weighty stones hung to his feet, two more to his shoulders, and one to his brest; and then the superstitious *Romish Dirige* and *Requiem* being sung for his Soul,

Soul, his Corps being held out to Sea on the Ship side, with Ropes ready to let him fall, all the Ship crying out three times, *buen Viaei* (that is a good Voyage) to his Soul chiefly, and also to his Corps ready to Travel to the deep to feed the Whales: at the first cry all the Ordnance were shot off, the Ropes on a sudden loosed, and *John de la Cueva* with the weight of heavy Stones plunged deep into the Sea, whom no mortal eyes ever more beheld. The like we saw performed in the Ship of *Santa Gertrudis*, to another Jesuit, one of the three who had been dangerously wounded by the *Indians* of *Guadalupe*; who likewise died like our Frier, his body being swelled as with Poyson. Now our Sailing was more comfortable than before; for we passed in sight of the Land *Puerto Rico*, and then of the great Island of *St. Domingo*; and here our company began to be lessened, some departing to *Puerto Rico*, and *St. Domingo*, others to *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, and *Honduras*, *Jamaica*, and *Jucatan*. We remained now alone the Fleet for *Mexico*; and so Sailed till we came to what the *Spaniards* call *la Sonda*, or the Sound of *Mexico*; for here we often sounded the Sea; which was so calm, that a whole week we were stayed for want of wind, scarce stirring from the place where first we were caught by the calm. Here likewise we had great sport in Fishing, filling again our bellies with *Dorados*, and saving that Provision which we had brought from *Spain*. But the heat was so extraordinary, that the day was no pleasure unto us; for the repercussion of the Suns heat upon the still Water and Pitch of our Ships, kindled a scorching fire, which all the day distempered our bodies with a constant running sweat, forcing us to cast off most of our Cloaths. The evenings and nights were somewhat more comfortable, yet the heat which the Sun had left in the Pitched Ribs and Planks of the Ship was such, that under Deck and in our Cabins we were not able to sleep, but in our shirts were forced to walk, or sit, or lie upon the Deck. The Mariners fell to washing themselves and to swimming till the infortunate death of one in the Ship called *St. Francisco*, made them suddenly leave off that sport. The nearer we came to the main Land, the Sea abounds with

with a monstrous Fish called by the *Spaniards*, *Tiburón*. Some mistake this Fish for the *Caiman*, or *Crocodile*, holding them both for one; and thinking that it is only the *Caiman* or *Crocodile* (by abuse called *Tiburón*) which devours mans flesh, a whole joint at a bit in the water. But the mistake is gross, for the *Caiman* is plated all over with shells, whereas the *Tiburón* hath no shells, but only like other great Sea Fishes, hath a thick skin. The *Caiman* though the *Indians* eat of it, yet the *Spaniards* hate it; who eat of the *Tiburón*; and in our Ship catching one with a tridental Iron Fork, and haling him with a Cable Rope to the Ship side, and then binding him with it, (being as much as a dozen or fifteen men could do to hoise him up into the Ship) we found him to be a most monstrous creature, twelve Ells long at least, which we Salted, and found likewise to eat like Flesh, as hath been said of the *Tortois*. This kind is as ravenous after mans flesh as the *Crocodile*, and many of them were to be seen in that Sound of *Mexico*.

The *Spaniards* Bathing themselves dayly by the Ships side, (where there is no such danger of the *Tiburón*; who useth not to come too near the Ships) one Mariner of the Ship called *St. Francisco* being more venturous than the rest, and offering to Swim from his Ship, to see some friends in another not far off, chanced to be a most unfortunate prey to one of them, who before any Boat could be set out to help him, was thrice seen to be pulled under water by the Monster, who had devoured a leg, an arm, and part of his shoulder; the rest of the body was after found and taken up, and carried to *St. Francisco*, and there buried in the form and manner as hath been said of our Frier *John de la Cueva*. They that go down to the sea in ships, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep, Psalm 107. 23, 24. Here they shall see not only Whales, but other Fishes like Monsters mastering strong and valiant men, with several sets of sharp, strong and mighty teeth, devouring at one bit whole limbs with flesh and bones together. This mischance saddened all our Fleet for three days, till it pleased God to refresh our burning heat with a cool and prosperous wind, driving us out of that calm Sound, which

which (if we had continued in it with that excessive heat) might have prove most unsound and unhealthy to our bodies: Three days after we had Sailed, being *Munday* in the morning about seven of the Clock, one of our Friers saying Mass, and all the people in the Ship kneeling to hear it, and to adore their bread God, one Mariner with a loud and sudden voice cryeth out *Tierra, Tierra, Tierra*, Land, Land, Land, which rejoyced the hearts of all that were in the Ship, as it seemed, more than their Mass, for leaving that, and their God upon the Altar with the Priest to eat him alone, they arose from their knees, to behold the Continent of *America*. Great was the joy of all the Ships that day ; and great was the slaughter which our old *Calvo* made among his Fowls, (which he had spared formerly) to Feast that day his Friers. About ten of the Clock the whole face of the Land was visibly apparent, and we with full Sail running to embrace it. But our wise Admiral knowing the danger of the Coast, and especially the dangerous entering into the Haven, by reason of the many Rocks that lie about it, and are known only by Marks and Flags set out to give all Ships warning of them, perceiving that with the wind wherewith we Sailed then, we should not come till towards evening to the Port : and lastly, fearing lest some North-wind (which is dangerous upon that Coast, and ordinary in the month of *September*) should in the night arise, and endanger all our Ships upon the Rocks ; he therefore called to Council all the Pilots, to know whether it were best to keep on our Sailing with full Sail that day, with hopes to get that day in good time into the Haven; or else with the middle Sail only to draw near, that the next morning with more security we might with the help of Boats from Land be guided in. The result of the Council was not to venture that day too near unto the Port, for fear of being benighted, but to pull down all but the middle Sail. The wind began to calm, and our Ships to move slowly towards Land, and so we continued till night. A double Watch was kept that night in our Ship, and the Pilot was more Watchful himself and more Careful than at others times ; But our Friers betook themselves to their rest ; which continued not long for before
midnigh

midnight the wind turned to the North, which caused a sudden and general cry and uproar in ours, and all the other Ships. Our Mariners came to the Friars, using almost the same words of *Jonah* 1. 6. *What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.* They changed the name of God into the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, in whom they seem to confide in such occasions more than in God himself. Their fear was more for the apprehension of danger by that kind of wind, and of what might happen, than for what as yet the wind threatned, which was not strong nor boisterous; however hallowed Wax Candles were lighted by the Friars, knees bowed to *Mary*, Letanies and other Hymns and Prayers sung aloud unto her, till towards the dawning of the day; when behold the North wind ceased, out wonted gale began to blow again, it being Gods will and pleasure, and no effect of the howling Friars Prayers to *Mary*, who yet superstitiously to deceive the simple people, cryed out, *Milagro, Milagro, Milagro, a Miracle, a Miracle, a Miracle.* By eight of the Cloch in the morning we came to the sight of the houses, and made signs for Boats to convey us into the Haven; which immediately with great joy came out, and guided us one by one between those Rocks, which make that Port as dangerous as any I have discovered in all my Travels both upon the North and South Sea. Our Waits play'd most pleasantly, our Ordnance saluted both Town and Fort over against it, our hearts and countenances reciprocally rejoyced; we cast our Anchors, which yet were not enough to secure our Ships in that most dangerous Haven, but further with Cable Ropes we secured them to Iron rings, which for that purpose are fastned into the Wall of the Fort, for fear of the strong and boisterous Northern winds. And thus welcoming one another to a new World, many Boats waiting for us, we presently went with joy to set footing in *America*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of our Landing at Vera Crux, otherwise St. John de Ulhua, and of our entertainment there.

UPon the twelfth day of *September*, we happily arrived in *America* in that famous Town called *St. John de Ulhua*, otherwise *Vera Crux*; famous for that it was the first beginning of the famous Conquest of that Valiant and ever renowned Conqueror *Hernando Cortez*. Here first was that Noble and Generous resolution, that never heard of Policy, to sink the Ships which had brought the first *Spaniards* to that Continent, greater than any of the other three parts of the World, to the intent that they might think of nothing but such a Conquest as after followed, being destitute of the help of their Ships, and without hopes evermore to return to *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, or any of those parts from whence they had come. Here it was that the first five hundred *Spaniards* strengthened themselves against millions of enemies, and against the biggest fourth part of all the World. Here were the first Magistrates, Judges, Aldermen, Officers of Justice named. The proper name of the Town is *St. John de Ulhua*, otherwise called *Vera Crux* from the old Harbour and Haven of *Vera Crux*, six leagues from this, and so called, for that upon good *Friday* it was first discovered. But the old *Vera Crux* proving too dangerous an Harbour for Ships, by reason of the violence of the Northern winds, it was, utterly forsaken by the *Spaniards*, who removed to *St. John de Ulhua*, where their Ships found the first safe Road by reason of a Rock, which is a strong defence against the winds. And because the memory of the work of that good *Friday* should never be forgotten, to *St. John de Ulhua* they have added the name also of *Vera Crux*, taken from that first Haven which was discovered upon good *Friday*, Anno 1519.

As soon as we came to shore, we found very solemn preparations for entertainment ; all the Town being resorted to the Sea-side, all the Priests and Canons of the Cathedral Church all the Religious Orders of the several Convents (which are there Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, and Jesuits) being in a readiness with their Crosses born before them, to guide the new Viceroy of *Mexico*, in procession to the chief Cathedral Church. The Friars and Jesuits were quicker in going to land, than the great *Don* the Marquess *de Serralvo* and his Lady. Some of them kissed the ground as holy in their opinion, for the Conversion of those *Indians* to Christianity, who before had worshipped Idols, and sacrificed to Devils ; others kneeled upon their knees making short prayers some to the Virgin *Mary*, others to such Saints as they best affected ; and so betook themselves to the places and stations of those of their Profession. In the mean time, all the Canons playing both from Ships and Castle, landed the Viceroy and his Lady, and all his Train, accompanied with *Don Martin de Carrillo* the Visitor-General for the strife between the Count of *Gelves* the last Viceroy, and the Arch-bishop of *Mexico*. The great *Don* and his Lady being placed under a Canopy of State, began the *Te Deum* to be sung, with much variety of musical Instruments, all marching in Procession to the Cathedral, where with Lights of burning Lamps, Torches and Wax-candles, was to the view of all, set upon the High-Altar their God of Bread ; to whom all knees were bowed, a Prayer of Thanksgiving sung, Holy water by a Priest sprinkled upon all the people, and lastly, a Mass, with three Priests, solemnly celebrated. This being ended, the Viceroy was attended on by the Chief High-Justice, named *Alcalde Major*, by the Officers of the Town, some Judges sent from *Mexico* to that purpose, and all the Souldiers of the Ships and Town, unto his Lodging : The Friars likewise in Procession, with their Cross before them, were conducted to their several Cloisters. Frier *Calvo* presented his Dominicans to the Prior of the Cloister of St. *Dominick*, who entertained us very lovingly with some Sweet-meats, and every one with a Cup of the *Indian* drink, called *Chocolatte* ; whereof

I shall speak hereafter. This Refreshment being ended, we proceeded to a better, which was a most stately Dinner both of Fish and Flesh; no Fowls were spared, many Capons, Turkey-Cocks and Hens were prodigally lavished, to shew us the abundance and plenty of Provision of that Country. The Prior of this Cloister was no Staid, Ancient Grey-headed Man, such as usually are made Superiours to govern young and wanton Friars; but he was a Gallant and Amorous young Spark, who (as we were there informed) had obtained from his Superiour the Provincial Government of that Convent, with a Bribe of a thousand Duckats. After Dinner he had some of us to his Chamber, where we observed his lightness, and little favour of Religion or Mortification in him: We thought to have found in his Chamber some stately Library, which might tell us of Learning and love of Study; but we found not above a dozen old Books, standing in a corner, covered with dust and cobwebs, as if they were ashamed that the Treasure that lay hid in them, should be so much forgotten and undervalued; and the Guitarra (the *Spanish Lute*) preferred and set above them. His Chamber was richly dressed and hung with many Pictures, and with Hangings, some made with Cotton-Wooll, others with various coloured Feathers of *Mechoacan*, his Tables covered with Carpets of Silk; Cupboards adorned with several sorts of *China* Cups and Dishes, stored within with several Dainties of Sweet-meats and Conserve.

This sight seemed to the zealous Friars of our Mission most vain, and unbecoming a poor and Mendicant Friar; to the others, whose end in coming from *Spain* to those parts was Liberty, and Looseness, and Covetousness of Riches this sight was pleasing, and gave them great encouragement to enter further into that Country, where soon a Mendicant *Lazarus* might become a proud and wealthy *Dives*. The discourse of the young and light-headed Prior, was nothing but vain boasting of Himself, of his Birth, his parts, his favour with the chief Superiour or Provincial, the love which the best Ladies, the richest Merchants Wives of the Town bare unto him, of his clear and excellent Voice, and great dexterity in Musick
whereof

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whereof he presently gave us a taste, tuning his Guittarra, and singing to us some Verses (as he said, of his own composing) some lovely *Amaryllis*, adding scandal to scandal, looseness to liberty; which it grieved some of us to see in a Superiour, who should have taught with words, and in his Life and Conversation, examples of Repentance and Mortification. No sooner were our Senses of Hearing delighted well with Musick, our Sight with the objects of Cotten-Wool, Silk and Feather-works, but presently our Prior caused to be brought forth of all his store of Dainties, such variety as might likewise relish well and delight our Sense of Tasting. Thus as we were truly transported from *Europe* to *America*, so the World seemed truly to be altered, our Senses changed from what they were the night and day before, when we heard the hideous noise of the Mariners, hoisting up Sails; when we saw the Deep, and Monsters of it; when we tasted the sinking water; when we smelt the Tar and Pitch: But here we heard a quivering and trembling Voice, and Instrument well tuned, we beheld Wealth and Riches, we tasted what was sweet, and in the Sweet-meats smelt the Musk and Civet, wherewith that Epicurean Prior had seasoned his Conserves. Here we broke up our Discourse and pastimes, desirous to walk abroad and take a view of the Town, having no more time than that and the next day to stay in it. We compassed it round that afternoon; and found the situation of it to be sandy, except on the South-west side, where it is Moorish ground, and full of standing Bogs; which with the great heats that are there, cause it to be a very unhealthy place: The number of Inhabitants may be three thousand, and amongst them some very rich Merchants, some worth two hundred, some three hundred, and some four hundred thousand Duckats. Of the Buildings little we observed, for they are all, both Houses, Churches and Cloisters, built with Boards and Timber, the Walls of the richest mans House being made but of boards, which with the impetuous Winds from the North, hath been the cause that many times the Town hath been for the most part of it burnt down to the ground. The great Trading from *Mexico*, and by *Mexico*

from the *East India's*, from *Spain*, from *Cuba*, *St. Domingo*, *Jucatan*, *Portobello*, and by *Portobello* from *Peru*, from *Cartagena*, and all the Islands lying upon the North-Sea, and by the River *Alvarado* going up to *Zapotecas*, *St. Ildefonso*, and towards *Guaxaca*, and by the River *Grijaval*, running up to *Tabasco*, *Los Zeques* and *Chiapa de Indios*, maketh this little Town very rich, and to abound with all the Commodities of the Continent Land, and of all the *East* and *West-India's* Treasures. The unhealthiness of the place is the reason of the paucity of Inhabitants, and the paucity of them, together with the rich Trading and Commerce, the Reasons that the Merchants therein are extraordinary rich; who yet might have been far richer, had not the Town been so often fired, and they in the fire had great losses. All the strength of this Town is first the hard and dangerous entrance into the Haven; and secondly, a Rock which lieth before the Town, less than a Musket shot off; upon which is built a Castle, and in the Castle a slight Garison of Souldiers. In the Town there is neither Fort nor Castle, nor scarce any people of Warlike minds. The Rock and Castle are as a Wall, Defence and Inclosure to the Haven, which otherwise lieth wide open to the Ocean, and to the Northern Winds. No Ship dares cast Anchor within the Haven, but only under the Rock and Castle, and yet not sure enough so with Anchors, except with Cables also they be bound and fastned to Rings of Iron, for that purpose, to the side of the Rock; from whence sometimes it hath happned, that Ships floating with the stream too much on one side the Rock, have been driven off and cast upon the other Rocks, or out to the Ocean, the Cables of their Anchors, and those wherewith they have been fastned to the Castle, being broken with the force of the Winds. This happned to one of our Ships the first night after we landed; who were hapy that we were not then at Sea: For there arose such a storm and tempest from the North, that it quite broke the Cables of one Ship, and drove it out to the main Sea, and we thought it would have blown and droven us out of our beds after it; for the slight boarded Houses did so totter and shake, that we expected every hour when

when they would fall upon our heads. We had that night enough of St. *John de Ulhua*, and little rest, though feasted as well at Supper as at Dinner by our vain boasting Prior, who before we went to bed, had caused all our feet to be washed, that now in easier beds than for above two months together the strait and narrow Cabins of the Ship had allowed us, our sleep might be more quiet, and more nourishing to our bodies; but the whistling Winds, and tottering Chambers, which made our Beds uneasy Cradles to us, caused us to flie from our rest at midnight, and with our bare (though washed) feet, to seek the dirty Yard for safer shelter. In the morning the Friars of the Cloister, who were acquainted with those Winds and Storms, laughed at our fearfulness; assuring us, that they never slept better, than when their Beds were rocked with such like blasts. But that nights Affrightment made us weary already of our good and kind Entertainment: We desired to remove from the Sea-side; which our Superiour *Calvo* yielded to, not for our fears sake so much as for his fear, lest with eating too much of the Fruits of that Country, and drinking after them too greedily of the Water, (which caused dangerous Fluxes, and hasteneth death to those that newly come from *Spain* to those parts) we should fall sick, and die there, as hundreds did after our departure, for want of temperance in the use of those Fruits, which before they had never seen or eaten. Thirty Mules were ready for us, which had been brought a purpose from *Mexico*, and had waited for us in St. *John de Ulhua* six days before ever the Fleet arrived. *Calvo* that day busied himself a ship-board, in sending to shore our Chests, and such provision as had been left of Wines, and Bisket, Gammons of Bacon, and salted Beef; whereof there was some store, besides a dozen Hens, and three Sheep; which was much wondered at, that so much should be left, after so long a Voyage. In the mean time we visited our Friends, and took our leaves of them in the forenoon; and after Dinner seats were prepared for us in the Cathedral Church to sit and see a Comedy acted, which had been on purpose studied and prepared by the Town, for the Entertainment

of the new Viceroy of Mexico. Thus two days onely we abode in St. John de Ulhua, and so departed.

C H A P. IX.

*Of our Journey from St. John de Ulhua to Mexico ;
and of the most remarkable Towns and Villages
in the way.*

UPon the 14. day of September we left the Town and Port of St. John de Ulhua, entring into the Road to Mexico; which we found the first three or four leagues to be very sandy, as wide and open as is our Road from London to St. Albans. The first Indians we met with, was at the old Vera Cruz, a Town seated by the Sea-side, which the Spaniards that first conquered that Country, thought to have made their chief Harbour: But afterwards, by reason of the small shelter they found in it for their Ships against the North Winds, they left it, and removed to St. John de Ulhua. Here we began to discover the power of the Priests and Friars over the poor Indians, and their subjections and obedience unto them. The Prior of St. John de Ulhua had writ a Letter unto them the day before of our passing that way, charging them to meet us in the way, and to welcome us into those parts; which was by the poor Indians gallantly performed; for two miles before we came to the Town, there met us on Horse-back some twenty of the chief of the Town, presenting unto every one of us a Nosegay of Flowers; who rid before us a Bow-shot, till we met with more company on foot, to wit, the Trumpeters, the Waits; (who sounded pleasantly all the way before us) the Officers of the Church, such as here we call Church-wardens, though more in number, according to the many Sodalities or Confraternities of Saints whom they serve: These likewise presented to each of us a Nose gay. Next met us the Singing-men and Boys, all the Queristers, who softly and leisurely walked before

before us singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, till we came to the midst of the Town, where were two great Elm-trees, the chief Market-place; there was set up an long Arbour with green Bows, and a Table ready furnished with Boxes of Conserve, and other Sweet-meats, and Diet-bread, to prepare our stomachs for a Cup of Chocolate; which whilst it was seasoning with the hot-water and sugar, the chief *Indians* and Officers of the Town made a Speech unto us, having first kneeled down and kissed our hands one by one: They welcomed us into their Country, calling us the Apostles of Jesus Christ, thanked us for that we had left our own Country, our Friends, our Fathers and Mothers, for to save their Souls: They told us, they honoured us as Gods upon Earth; and many such Complements they used till our Chocolate was brought. We refreshed our selves for the space of an hour, and gave hearty thanks to the *Indians* for their kind respects unto us; assuring them, that nothing was more dear unto us in this World than their Souls; which that we might save, we regarded not Sea nor Land-dangers, not the inhumane Cruelties of barbarous and savage *Indians* (who as yet had no knowledge of the true God) no, nor our own lives.

And thus we took our leaves, giving unto the chief of them some Beads, some Medals, some Crosses of Brasse, some *Agnus Dei*, some Reliques brought from *Spain*, and to every one of the Town an Indulgence of forty years (which the Pope had granted unto us, to bestow where, and upon whom, and as often as we would) wherewith we began to blind that simple people with ignorant, erroneous and popish Principles. As we went out of the Arbour to take our Mules, behold the Market-place was full of *Indian* men and women; who as they saw us ready to depart, kneeled upon the ground, as adoring us for a blessing; which as we rid along, we bestowed upon them with lifted up hands on high, making over them the sign of the Cross. And this submission of the poor *Indians* unto the Priests in those parts; this vain-glory in admitting such ceremonious Entertainment and Publick Worship from them, did so puff up some of our young Friers

hearts that already they thought themselves better than the best Bishops in *Spain*, who though proud enough, yet never travel there with such publick Acclamations as we did. The Waits and Trumpets sounded again before us, and the chief of the Town conducted us a mile forward, and so took their leaves. The first two days we lodged but in poor small *Indian* Towns, among whom we still found kind Entertainment, and good store of Provision, especially of Hens, Capons, Turkeys, and several sorts of Fruits. The third day at night we came to a great Town, consisting of near two thousand Inhabitants, some *Spaniards*, some *Indians*, called, *Xalapa de la Vera Cruz*. This Town in the year, 1634. was made a new Bishops See (the Bishoprick of the City, called *La Puebla de los Angeles*, being divided into two) and this being not above the third part of it, is thought to be worth Ten thousand Duckats a year. It stands in a very fertile Soil for *Indian* Wheat, called *Maiz*, and some *Spanish* Wheat. There are, many Towns about it of *Indians*; but what makes it rich are the many Farms of Sugar, and some which they call *Estantia's*, rich Farms for breeding of Mules and Cattel; and likewise some Farms of *Cochinil*. In this Town there is but one great Church, and an inferiour Chappel, both belonging to a Cloister of Franciscan Friars, wherein we were lodged that night, and the next day, being the Lord's Day. Though the Revenues of this Cloister be great, yet it maintains not above half a dozen Friars, where twenty might be plentifully maintained; that so those few Lubbers might be more abundantly, and like Epicures, fed and nourished. The Superiour or Guardian of this Cloister, was no less vain than the Prior of *St. John de Ulbua*; and though he were not of our Profession, yet he welcomed us with stately Entertainment. Here, and wheresoever farther we travelled, we still found in the Priests and Friars looseness of life, and their ways and proceedings contrary to the ways of their profession, sworn to by a solemn Vow and Covenant. This Order especially of the Mendicant Franciscan Friars voweth (besides Chastity and Obedience) Poverty more strictly to be observed, than any other Order of the *Romish* Church; for their Clothing ought to

to be coarse Sack-cloth; their Girdles made of Hemp, should be no finer than strong Halters; their Shirts should be but Woollen, their Legs should know no stockings, their Feet no shoes, but at the most and best either wooden clogs or sandals of Hemp, their hands and fingers should not so much as touch any money, nor they have the use, or possession, or propriety of any, nor their journeys be made easie with the help of Horses to carry them, but painfully they ought to travel on foot; and the breach of any of these they acknowledge to be a deadly and mortal sin, with the guilt of a high Soul-damning, and Soul-cursing Excommunication. Yet for all these Bonds and Obligations, those wretched Imps live in those parts, as though they had never vowed unto the Lord, shewing in their lives, that they have vowed what they are not able to preform. It was to us a strange and scandalous sight, to see here in *Xalappa* a Frier of the Cloister riding with his Lackey-boy by his side, upon a goodly Gelding (having gone but to the Towns end, as we were informed, to hear a dying man's Confession) with his long Habit tucked up to his Girdle making shew of a fine silk Orange-colour Stockin upon his legs, and neat Cordovan shoes upon his foot, with a fine Holland pair of Drawers, with a Lace three inches broad at knee. This sight made us willing to pry further into this and the other Friars carriages, under whose broad sleeves we could perceive their Doublets quilty with silk, and at their wrists the Laces of their Holland shirts. In their talk we could discern no Mortification, but mere vanity and worldliness. After Supper, some of them began to talk of carding and dicing: They challenged us that were but new comers to those parts, to a *Primera*; which though most of ours refused, some for want of money, some for ignorance of that Game, yet at last, with much ado, they got two of our Friars to joyn with two of theirs; so the Cards were handsomely shuffled, the vies and revies were doubled, Loss made some hot and blind with passion; Gain made others eager and covetous: And thus was that Religious Cloister made all night a Gaming-house; and sworn Religious Poverty, turned into profane and worldly Covetousness. We that beheld some
part

part of the night the Game, found enough to observe: for the more the sport increased, scandals to the sport were added, both by drinking, and swearing that common Oath *Voto a Christo, Voto a Dios*; and also by scoffing and jeering at the religious Vows of Poverty, which they had vowed; for one of the Franciscans, though formerly he had touched money, and with his fingers had laid it to the stake on the Table; yet sometimes to make the Company laugh, if he had chanced to win a double vie (and sometimes the vies and revies went round of twenty Patacons) then would he take the end of one sleeve of his Habit, and open wide the other broad sleeve, and so with his sleeve sweep the money into his other sleeve, saying, *I have vowed not to touch mony, nor to keep any, I meant then a natural Contact of it; but my sleeve may touch it, and my sleeve may keep it*: Shewing with scoffs and jests of his lips, what Religion was in his heart. My ears tingled with hearing such Oaths, my tongue would have uttered some words of Reproof, but that I considered my self a Guest and a stranger in a strange House; and that if I should say, any thing it would do no good: So silently I departed to my rest, leaving the Gamesters, who continued till Sun-rising; and in the morning I was informed, that the jesting Frier, that rather roaring Boy, than Religious Franciscan, fitter for *Sardanapalus*, or *Epicurus* his School, than to live in a Cloister, had lost fourscore and odd Patacons; his sleeve it seems refusing to keep for him what he had vowed never to possess. Here I began to find out by experience of these Franciscans, that Liberty and Loosness of life it was that brought yearly so many Friers and Jesuits from *Spain* to those parts, rather than zeal of preaching the Gospel, and converting Souls to Christ; which indeed being an act of highest Charity, they make a special Badge of the truth of their Religion: But the loosness of their Lives sheweth evidently, that the love of Mony, Vain-glory, of Power and Authority over the poor *Indians*, is their end and aim, more than any love of God.

From *Xalappa* we went to a place, called by the *Spaniards* *La Rinconada*, which is no Town nor Village, and therefore
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not worth mentioning in such a Road as now I am in; yet as famous in two things, it must not be omitted amongst greater places. This place stands so far from any other Town that Travellers can scarce make their journeys without either baiting there at noon, or lying there at night, or declining three or four miles out of the Road to some *Indians* Town. It is no more than one House, which the *Spaniards* call *Venta*, or as our *English*, Inn, seated in the corner of a low Valley, which is the hottest place from St. *John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*: About it are the best Springs and Fountains in all the Road; and the Water, though warm with the heat of the Sun, yet as sweet as any Milk. The Inn-keepers knowing well the *Spaniards* heat, that it seeks cool and refreshing drink, have special care so to lay in Water in great earthen Vessels, which they set upon a moist and waterish Sand, that it is so cold, that it maketh the teeth to chatter. This sweetness, and this coolness together of that Water in so hot and scorching a Country, was to us a wonder, who could find no other Refreshment from that extraordinary heat. Beside, our Provisions here of Beef, Mutton, Kid, Hens, Turkeys, Rabbits, Fowls, and especially Quails, was so plentiful and cheap, that we were astonished at it. The Valley and Country about it is very rich and fertile, full of *Spanish* Farms of Sugar and Cochinil, *Spanish* and *Indian* Wheat. But what maketh me more especially remember this *Venta*, or Inn, is, for that though Art and Experience of man have found a way to provide for Travellers in so hot a place, cool, and refreshing Water, and God hath given it the sweetness of Milk, and to the place such abundance of Provision; yet all this in the day only is comfortable and pleasant; but in the night the *Spaniards* call it *Cumfites en infierno*, that is to say, Comfits in Hell; for not only the heat is so extraordinary, that it is impossible to be feeding without wiping away the continual sweat of the face, whose drops from the brows, are always ready to blind our eyes, and to fill with sauce our dishes; but the swarms of Gnats are such, that waking and sleeping no device of man is able to keep them off. True it is, most of us had our Pavilions which we carried with us, to hang about
and

and over our beds, but these could not defend us from that piercing and stinging Vermine, which like *Egypt's* Plague of Frogs, would be sure to be in every place, and through our Curtains to come upon our very beds. Yet in the day they are not; but just at Sun-setting they begin to swarm about and at Sun-rising away they go. After a most tedious and troublesome night, we found the rising of the Sun had dispersed and banished them away, we thought it best for us to flee away from that place with them; and so from thence early we departed to a Town as pleasant and fertile, and abounding with Provision as this *Rinconada*, and from such busie Guests, and individual Mates and Companions, as the night before had intruded themselves upon us.

The next night we got to a Town called *Segura*, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, consisting of about a thousand Inhabitants: Here again, without any charges, we were stately entertained by Franciscan Friars, as light and vain glorious as those of *Xalappa*. This Town had its first beginning and foundation by *Hernando Cortez*, and its called *Segura de la Frontera*, being built up by him for a Frontier Town, to secure the *Spaniards* that came from *St. John de Ulbua* to Mexico, against the *Culhuacans* and people of *Tepeacac*, who were allied to the *Mexicans*, and so much annoyed the *Spaniards*. But what most incensed *Cortez* was, that after his first repulse from Mexico, the *Indians* insulting over him and the rest of his Company, who they heard had been dangerously wounded, and were retired to *Tlaxcallan* to recover and strengthen themselves; the two Towns, *Gulbua* and *Tepeacac*, then in League with the *Mexicans* against *Cortez* and the Town of *Tlaxcallan*, lying in wait for the *Spaniards*, took twelve of them, and sacrificed them alive to their Idols, and eat their flesh. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Maxixca* a chief Captain of *Tlaxcallan*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Town, to go with him, and to help him to be avenged of the people of *Tepeacac*, for the cruelty used to twelve of his *Spaniards*; and for the daily and great hurt they also did to the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan*, with the help of their allied Friends the *Culhuacans* and *Mexicans*. *Maxix-*

ca and the chief of *Tlaxcallan* forthwith entred into counsel with the States and Commonalty of the Town, and there determined with general consent, to give unto him forty thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemez*, who are foot Carriers, to bear the Baggage, Victual, and other things. With this numble of *Tlaxcarteca*'s, his own men and Horses, Cortez went to *Tepeacac*, requiring them, in satisfaction of the death of the twelve Christians, that they should now yield themselves to the obedience of the Emperor and King of Spain his Master; and hereafter never more to receive any Mexican into their Town or Houses, neither yet any of the Province of *Calhua*. The *Tepeacacs* answered, that they had slain the Spaniards for just and good cause; which was, that being time of War, they presumed to pass through their Country by force without their will and license. And also, that the Mexicans and *Culhuacans* were their Friends and Lords, whom alway they would friendly entertain within their Town and Houses, refusing utterly their offer and request; protesting to give no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore to return incontent to *Tlaxcallan*, except they had a desire to end their weary days, and to be sacrificed and eaten up as their twelve Friends had been. Cortez yet invited them many times with peace; and seeing it prevailed not, he began his Wars in earnest. The *Tepeacacs*, with the favour of the *Culhuacans*, were brave and lusty, and began to stop and defend the Spaniards entrance into their Towns. And being many in number, with divers valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times: But at the end they were overthrown, and many slain, without killing any Spaniards, although many of *Tlaxcaltea*'s were killed that day. The Lords and principal Persons of *Tepeacac* seeing their overthrow, and that their strength could not prevail, yielded themselves unto Cortez for Vassals of the Emperor; with condition, to banish for ever their allied Friends of *Culhua*; and that he should punish and correct, at his will and pleasure, all those which were occasion of the death of the twelve Spaniards. For which causes and obstinacy, at the first Cortez judged by his Sentence, that all the Towns which had
been

been privy to the Murther, should for ever remain Captives and Slave: Others affirm, that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites, Idolaters, and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned, for Slaves; and within twenty days that these Wars lasted, he pacified all that Province, which is very great; he drave from thence the *Culhuacans*, he threw down the Idols, and the chief persons obey'd him. And for more assurance, he built there this Town, naming it *Sogura de la Frontera*, appointing all Officers for the purpose, whereby the Christians and Strangers might pass without danger from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*. This Town likewise, as all the rest from *St. John de Vibua* to *Mexico*, is very plentiful of Provision, and many sorts of Fruits, namely, *Plantines*, *Sapotes*, and *Chicosapottes*, which have within, a great black kernel as big as our Horse-plum; the fruit it self is as red within as Scarlet, as sweet as Honey, but the *Chicosapotte* is less, and some of them red, some brown coloured, and so juicy, that at the eating, the juice, like drops of honey, falls from them and the smell is like unto a baked Pear. Here likewise were presented unto us Clusters of Grapes as fair as any in *Spain*, which were welcome unto us, for that we had seen none since we came from *Spain*; and we saw by them, that the Country thereabouts would be very fit for Vineyards, if the King of *Spain* would grant the planting of Vines in those parts; which often he hath refused to do, lest the Vineyards there should hinder the Trading and Traffick between *Spain* and those parts, which certainly had they but Wine, needed not any commerce with *Spain*. This Town is of a more temperate Climate than any other from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, and the people who formerly had been eaters of mans flesh, now as civil and politick, as loving and courteous as any in the Road. From whence we declined a little out of our way more Westward (the Road being North-westward) only to see that famous Town of *Tlaxcallan*, whose Inhabitants joyned with *Cortez*, and we may say, were the chief Instruments of that great and unparallel'd Conquest.

CH A P. X.

Wherein is set down the estate and condition of the great Town of Tlaxcallan, when the first Spaniards entred the Empire of Mexico : Cortez his first encounter with the Tlaxcaltaca's, their League with him, with a Description of the Town; and of the estate and condition of it now.

Tlaxcallan being worth all the rest of the Towns and Villages between St. John de Ulbua and Mexico, I thought it not fit to parallel it with the others, in naming it briefly, and passing by it as a Traveller; but rather I judged it convenient and befitting my present History, to record to posterity with one whole Chapter, the greatness of it, and the valour of its Inhabitants from the Conquest of America made by *Hernando Cortez*. Who being upon his march to Mexico, and having arrived to *Zaclotan*, and being informed that the *Tlaxcaltaca's* were men of Valour, and Enemies to *Montezuma* the Emperor of Mexico, thought it his best policy to joyn with them against the *Mexicans*.

Whereupon he dispatched unto them four *Indians* of a Town called *Zempoallan*, as Ambassadors to acquaint them of his coming into those parts, and of his desire to visit their Town, not for any harm he intended to them, but rather for their good. The *Tlaxcaltaca's* fearing Cortez, and judging him a friend of *Montezuma*, because upon his way to visit him; and having heard of the many costly presents which the Emperor had sent unto him, they resolved to resist his coming, and to send him no Answer to his Ambassage; but took the four Messengers which he had sent, and imprisoned them, minding to sacrifice them unto their Gods as Spies. Cortez seeing the long tarrying of the Messengers, departed from *Zaclotan*, without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*.
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His Camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuit of stone made without lime or mortar, being of a fathom and a half high, and twenty foot broad, with loop holes to shoot at. This Wall crossed over a whole Valley, from one Mountain to another, and but one only entrance or gate, in the which the one Wall doubled against the other, and the way there was forty paces road, in such sort, that it was an evil and perillous passage, if any had been there to defend it. Cortez demanded the cause of that circuit, and who had built it. The *Indians* that went with him, told him, that it was but a division from their Country and *Tlaxcallan* and that their Ancestors had made the same to disturb the entrance of the *Tlaxcalteca's* in the time of War, who came to rob and murder them, because of the Friendship betwixt them and *Montezuma*, whose Vessels they were. That strange and costly Wall seemed a thing of great majesty to the *Spaniards*, and more superfluous than profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcalteca's* were valiant Warriors, who had such a defence made against them. But Cortez setting all fear aside, with three hundred Soldiers on a rank, entered the way in the Wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwards, carrying the Ordnance ready charged, and he himself the Leader of all his Army, and sometimes he would be half a league before them, to discover and to make the way plain. And having gone the space of three leagues from that circuit; he commanded his Foot-men to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and he with his Horsemen, went to descry the way forwards, who ascending up a hill two of the foremost Horse-men met with fifteen *Indians* armed with Swords and Tragets, and Tuffs of Feathers, which they used to wear in the War. These fifteen being Spies, when they saw the Horsemen, began to flie with fear, or else to give advice. But Cortez approaching with other three Horsemen, called to them to stay; which they by no means would harken unto; till six more Horsemen ran after them, and overtook them. The *Indians* then joyning all together with determination rather to die than

to yield, shewing to the *Spaniards* signs to stand still. But the Horsemen coming to lay hands upon them; they prepared themselves to Battel, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the *Indians* slew two of their Horses, and (as the *Spaniards* do witness) at two blows they cut off a Horse's Head, bridle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, the Army also of the *Indians* approached, for there were in sight near five thousand of them in good order, to succour their fifteen fighting men; but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slain by the *Spanish* fury, because they would not render themselves in time, and had killed two of their Horses. Yet notwithstanding their fellows fought, till they spied the *Spanish* Army coming, and the Ordnance, then they returned, leaving the field to the *Spaniards*, whose Horsemen followed them, and slew about seventy of them, without receiving any hurt. With this the *Indians* perceiving the great advantage which the *Spaniards* had against them with their Horses, and meaning to come upon them subtilly with a more powerful Army, that they might the better deceive and delude them, they sent unto Cortez two of the four Messengers which had been sent unto them, with other *Indians*, saying, that they of *Tlaxcallan* knew nothing of the things that had happened, certifying likewise that those with whom he had fought, were of other Communities, and not of their Jurisdiction, being sorrowful for that which had passed; and forasmuch as it hapned in their journey, they would willingly pay for the two Horses which were slain, praying them to come in good time to their Town, who would gladly receive them, and enter into their League of Friendship, because they seemed to be valiant men: But all this was a feigned and a false message. Yet Cortez believed them, and gave them thanks for their courtesie and good will; and that according to their request he would go unto their Town, and accept their Friendship. And touching the death of his Horses, he required nothing, for that within short time he expected many more; yet sorrowful he was, not so much for the want of them, as that the *Indians* should think that Horses

could die, or be slain. Cortez proceeded forwards about two leagues, where the Horses were kild, although it was almost Sun-set, and his men wearied, having travelled far that day. He planted his Army by a River side, remaining all that night with good watch both of Foot-men and Horse-men, fearing some assault; but there was no attempt given that night. The next morning at Sun-rising, Cortez departed with his Army in good order, and in the midst of them went the Fardage and Artillery; and after a little marching, they met with the other two Messengers whom they had sent from *Zaclotan*: They came with pitiful cries exclaiming of the Captains of the power of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bound them and detained them from returning; but with good fortune that night they had broke loose, and escaped; for otherwise in the morning following, they had been sacrificed to the God of Victory, and after the Sacrifice they had been eaten for a good beginning of the Wars; the *Tlaxcalteca's* protesting to do the like to the bearded men (for so they termed the *Spaniards*) and to as many as came with them. They had no sooner told their tale, when there appeared behind a little hill, about a thousand *Indians*, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noise and cry, as though their voices should have pierced the Heavens; hurling at the *Spaniards* Stones, Darts, and shot with Bows and Arrows. Cortez made many tokens of peace unto them, and by his Interpreters desired them to leave the Battel. But so much the more as he intreated for peace, the more hasty and earnest were they, thinking either to overcome them, or else to hold them play, to the intent that the *Spaniards* should follow them to a certain Ambush that was prepared for them, of more than fourscore thousand men. Here the *Spaniards* began to cease from words, and to lay hands upon their weapons; for that company of a thousand were as many as on the *Spaniards* side were fighting men; though they were well practised in the Wars, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This Battel endured certain hours, and at the end the *Indians* being either wearied, or else meaning to take the *Spaniards* in the snare

snare appointed, began to flie towards the main Battel, not as overcome, but to joyn with their own side. The *Spaniards* being hot in the fight and slaughtering, which was not little, followed them with all their sardage, and unawares fell into the Ambush, among an infinite number of *Indians* armed; they stayed not, because they would not put themselves out of order but passed through their Camp with great haste and fear. The *Indians* began to set upon the *Spanish* Horse-men, thinking to have taken their Lances from them, their courage was so stout: Many of the *Spaniards* had there perished, had it not been for their *Indian* Friends, who had come with them from *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan*. Likewise the courage of *Cortez* did much animate them; for although he led his Army, making way, yet divers times he turned him back to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous Way and Ambush, where the Horses might help, and the Ordnance stand in stead; which two thing did greatly annoy the *Indians* to their great wonder and marvel, and at the sight thereof began to flie. In both Encounters remained many *Indians* slain and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none kild, who gave most hearty thanks unto God for their delivery from so great a multitude as were fourscore thousand, against one thousand only of *Indians* and *Spaniards* joyned together. The *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan* did play the valiant men that day, wherefore *Cortez* honoured them with hearty thanks. Then they went to pitch their Camp in a Village called *Teoacazinco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselves. The night following the *Spaniards* slept not quietly, with fear of a third Invasion of the *Tlaxcalteea's*. As soon as it was day, *Cortez* sent to the Captains of *Tlaxcallan*, to require them to peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer them to pass through their Country to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurt, but rather good will. The answer of the Captains of *Tlaxcallan* was that the next day they would come and talk with him, and declare their minds. *Cortez* was well prepared that night; for the answer liked him not, but rather seem-

ed brave, and a matter determined to be done, as some had told him (whom he took Prisoners) who likewise certified that the *Tlaxealteca's* were joyned together, to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand men to give battel the next day following, and to swallow up alive the *Spaniards* whom so mortally they did hate, thinking them to be friends unto the Emperor *Montezuma*, unto whom they wished all evil and mischief. Their intent was therefore with all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and to make of them a more solemn Sacrifice unto their Gods than at any time they had done, with a general Banquet of their flesh, which they called *Celestial*.

The Captains of *Tlaxcallan* divided their Soldiers into four Battels, the one to *Tepeticpac*, another to *Ocotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuitlan*; that is to say, the men of the Mountains, the men of the Lime-pits, the men of the Pine-trees, and the Watermen: All these four sorts of men did make the Body of the Commonwealth of *Tlaxcallan*, and commanded both in time of War and Peace. Every of these Captains had his just portion or number of Warriors, but the General of all the whole Army was called *Xicotencatl*, who was of the Lime-pits; and he had the Standard of the Commonwealth, which is a Crane of Gold with his wings spread, adorned with Emeralds and Silver-work: Which Standard was, according to their use, either carried before the whole Host, or else behind them all. The Lieutenant General of the Army was *Maxixcazin*; and the number of the whole Army was a hundred and fifty thousand men. Such a great number they had ready against four hundred *Spaniards*, and seven hundred *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclotan*, and yet at length overcome; and after this fight, they were the greatest Friends that *Cortez* had in those parts against *Montezuma*. These Captains came with their Companies, that the fields where they were seemed a Forest. They were gallant Fellows, and well armed, according to their use, although they were painted, so that their faces shewed like Devils, with great tuffs of Feathers, and they boasted gallantly. Their Weapons and Armor were Slings,

Slings, Staves, Spears, Swords, Bows and Arrows, Sculls, Splints, Gauntlets, all of Wood, gilt, or else covered with Feathers or Leather; their Corsets were made of Cotton-wool, their Targets and Bucklers gallant and strong, made of Wood, covered with Leather, and trimmed with Latten, and Feathers; their Swords were staves, with an edge of Flint-stone cunningly joyned into the staff, which would cut very well, and make a sore wound. Their Instruments of War were Hunters-horns, and Drums called *Atabals*, made like a Caldron, and covered with Vellom. So that the *Spaniards* in all their discoveries of *India*, did never see a better Army together, nor better ordered; that which I could not omit to speak of here, having come in the order of my History to *Tlaxcallan*, where this numerous and gallant *Indian* Army was set forth against four hundred *Spaniards*, and six hundred *Indians* their Friends. These *Indians* thus ordered in Battalia, bragged very much against the *Spaniards*, and said amongst themselves, What mad people are these bearded men that threaten us, and yet know us not? But if they will be so bold to invade our Country without our License, let us not set upon them so soon, it is meet they had a little rest, for we have time enough to take and bind them; let us also send them meat, for they are come with empty stomachs, and so they shall not say we do apprehend them with weariness and hunger. Whereupon they sent unto the *Spaniards* three hundred Turkey-cocks, and two hundred Baskets of Bread, called *Centli*; the which present was a great succour and refreshment for the need the *Spaniards* stood in. And soon after: Now (say they) let us go and set upon them, for by this time they have eaten their meat, and now we will eat them, and so shall they pay us the Victuals that we sent. These and such like brags they used, seeing so few *Spaniards* before them, and not knowing the strength of their Ordnance, against their so numerous an Host. Then the four Captains sent two thousand of their valiantest men of War, and old Soldiers, to take the *Spaniards* quietly; with commandment, that if they did resist, either to bind them, or else to kill them; meaning not to set their whole Army upon them,

saying, that they should get but small honour for so great a multitude to fight against so few. The two thousand Soldiers passed the Trench that was betwixt the two Camps, and came boldly to the Tower where the *Spaniards* were. Then came forth the Horsemen, and after them the Footmen; and at the first encounter, they made the *Indians* feel how the Iron Swords would cut; at the second, they shewed of what force those few in number were, of whom a little before they had so jested; but at the third brunt, they made those lusty Soldiers flie, who were come to apprehend them; for none of them escaped, but only a few such as knew the passage of the Trenches or Ditch. Then the main Battel and whole Army let forth with a terrible and marvellous noise, and came so fierce upon the *Spaniards*, till they entred into their Camp without any resistance, and there were at handystrokes with the *Spaniards*, and in a good space could not get them out, many of them being killed, which were so bold to enter. In this sort they fought four hours, before they could make way among their Enemies. Then the *Indians* began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the great wounds they had, and that they could kill none of the Christians; yet the Battel ceased not, till it drew near night, and then they retired. Whereof Cortez and his Soldiers were exceeding glad, for they were fully wearied with killing of *Indians*. The next day in the morning Cortez went forth to run the fields, as he had done before, leaving half his men to keep the Camp; and because he should not be espied, he departed before day, and burned about ten Towns, and sacked one Town, which was of three thousand houses; in the which were found but few people, because the most of them were gone to their Camp. After the spoil, he set fire on the Town, and came his way to his Camp with a great prey by noon-time. The *Indians* pursued, thinking to take away their prey, and followed them into the Camp, where they fought five hours, and could not kill one *Spaniard*, although many of their side were slain; for even as they were many, and stood on a throng together, the Ordnance made a wonderful spoil among them; so that they left off fighting.

ing, and the Victory remained for the *Spaniards*, whom the *Indians* thought were enchanted, because their Arrows could not hurt them. The next day following, the four Captains sent three several things in Present to *Cortez*; and the Messengers that brought them said, Sir, Behold here five Slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God, that eatest mans flesh and blood, eat these which we bring thee, and we will bring thee more: And if thou be the gentle and meek God, behold here Frankincense and Feathers: And if thou be a mortal Man, take here Fowl, Bread and Cherries. *Cortez* answered, that both he and his were mortal Men, even as they were: And because that always he had used to tell them truth, wherefore did they use to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him? for he desired to be their Friend, advising them not to be mad and stubborn in their opinion; for if they did, assuredly they should receive great hurt and damage.

Notwithstanding this Answer, there came again about thirty thousand of them even to *Cortez* his Camp, to prove their Crosslets, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to noted, that although the first day the whole Host of *Indians* came to combat with the *Spaniards*; yet the next they did not so, but every several Captain by himself, for to divide the better the travel and pains equally among them; and because that one should not disturb another through the multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, and in a narrow place; and for this consideration, their Battels were more fresh and strong, for each Captain did contend who should do most valiantly for to get honour, and especially in killing one *Spaniards* for they thought that all their hurts should be satisfied with the death of one *Spaniard*, or taking one Prisoner. Likewise is to be considered, the strangeness of their Battel; for notwithstanding their Controversie, fifteen days that they were there, whether they fought or no, they sent unto the *Spaniards* Cakes of Bread, Turkey-cocks and Cherries. But this Policy was not to give them that meat for good will, but only to spy and see what hurt was done among them, and also to see what fear or stomach they had

to proceed. But finding by their many Spies, that the *Spaniards* were nothing daunted nor diminished, they resolved to send unto Cortez *Xicotencatl*, who was Chief and General Captain in *Tlaxcallan*, and of all the Wars : He brought in his company fifty persons of Authority to keep him company. They approached near where Cortez was, and saluted each other according to the use of their Country. Their Salutations being ended, and the parties being set down ; *Xicotencatl* began the talk, saying, Sir I am come on my own behalf, and also of my fellow Captain and Lieutenant *Maxixca*, and in the name of many other Noble Personages, and finally in the Name of the whole State and Commonwealth of *Tlaxcallan*, to beseech and pray you to admit us into your Friendship, and to yield our selves and Country unto your King ; craving also at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking up Arms against you, we not knowing what you were, nor what you sought for in our Country. And where we presumed to resist and defend your entrance, we did it as against strangers whom we knew not, and such men as we had never heretofore seen ; and fearing also, that you had been friends to *Montezuma*, who is, and always hath been our mortal Enemy. And we had rather all in general to end our lives, than to put our selves in subjection to him ; for we think our selves as valiant men in courage as our Fore-fathers were, who always have resisted against him and his Grand father, who was as mighty as now he is. We would also have withstood you and your force, but we could not, although we proved all our possibility by night and day, and found your strength invincible, and we no luck against you. Therefore since our fate is such, we had rather be subject unto you than unto any others ; for we have known and heard of the *Zempoallanezes*, that you do no evil, nor came not to vex any, but were most valiant and happy, as they have seen in the Wars, being in your company. For which Consideration, we trust that our Liberty shall not be diminished, but rather our own Persons, Wives and Families better preserved, and our Houses and Husbandry not destroyed. And in some of his talk, the tears trickling down his cheeks, he besought Cortez to weigh, That *Tlaxcallan* did never any time acknowledge

ledge any Superior Lord or King, nor at any time had come any person among them to command, but only he whom now they did voluntarily elect and choose as their Superiour and Ruler. Cortez much rejoyced with this Ambassage, and to see such a mighty Captain, who commanded a hundred and fifty thousand Soldiers, come unto his Camp to submit himself; judging it also matter of great weight to have that Commonwealth in subjection, for the Enterprize which he had in hand, whereby he fully made account, that the Wars were at an end, to the great Content of him and his Company, and with great fame among the *Indians*. So with a merry and loving countenance, he answered, laying first to their charge, the hurt and damage which he had received in their Country, because they refused at the first to hearken unto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their Country, as he had required and desired by his Messengers sent unto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet all this, notwithstanding, he did both pardon the killing of his two Horses, the assaulting of him in the high-way, and the lies which they had most craftily used with him; (for whereas they themselves fought against him, yet they laid the fault to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the Ambush prepared for him (enticing him to come to their Town) without making first defiance according to the Law of Arms. Yet these injuries, notwithstanding, he did lovingly receive their offer made in subjection to the Emperour, and that very shortly he would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*. At this same time there were Ambassadors from *Montezuma* with Cortez, who grieved much to see the League that was now beginning between the *Tlaxcalteca's* and the *Spaniards*: They advised Cortez to give no credit unto them, saying, they meant nothing but Treason and lies, and to lock them up in *Tlaxcallan*. Cortez answered the Ambassadors, That although their advice were true, yet he did determine to go thither; for that he feared them less in the Town than in the Field. They hearing this Answer and Determination, besought him to give one of them license to return unto *Mexico*, to advertise *Montezuma* of all that was past, with an Answer to their

their Ambassage, promising within six days to have news from *Mexico*; and till then prayed him not to depart with his Camp. Cortez granted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting their Answer, and within himself rejoycing to see how the *Mexicans* began to fear, that his peace with the *Tlaxcalteca's* would be their ruin and destruction, as indeed afterwards it proved. In this mean season came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the Camp, some brought Turkey-cocks, others brought Bread and Cherries, with merry countenances, desiring them to go home with them unto their houses. The sixth day the *Mexican* Ambassador came according to promise, and brought unto Cortez ten Jewels of Gold, both rich and well wrought, and fifteen thousand Garments of Cotten exceeding gallant; and most earnestly besought him on the behalf of *Montezuma*, that he should not danger himself in trusting to the words of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, who were so poor, that with necessity they would rob him of the things and Presents which his Master had sent him; yea, and likewise murder him, knowing of the Friendship between his Master and him. At the very same time all the chiefeft Lords of *Tlaxcallan* came to intreat him to go with them to *Tlaxcallan*, where he should be cherished, lodged and well provided; for it was a great dishonour and shame unto them, to permit such Personages to abide in such vile Cottages as they were in. And if (said they) you trust us not, then we are ready to give you for security, whatsoever Pledges or Gages you shall demand. And they did both swear and faithfully promise, that they might safely go with them; saying also, that the Oath and Faith of their Commonwealth should never be broken, for all the goods in the World. Thus was Cortez on both sides earnestly solicited and intreated; the *Mexicans* fearing his League and Friendship with the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and these hoping that his Friendship with them would be their cheif Protection against the Tyranny of *Montezuma*. But Cortez aiming chiefly at the Empire of *Mexico*, which *Montezuma* his dissembled Friendship would never help him to enjoy; and seeing the good will of so many Gentlemen his new Friends of *Tlaxcallan*, the most mortal

mortal Enemies of *Montezuma*; and likewise the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, of whom he had good credit, did so importune him, and assure him of his going, that he commanded his *Fardage* to be laden, and also his *Ordnance*, and departed toward *Tlaxcallan*, with as good order as it had been to a *Battel*; and at the *Tower* where he had pitched his *Camp*, he left certain *Crosses* for a memory, with a great heap of stones (which till this day remain in the place, and my self have seen them) and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eighteenth of *September*. There came out such a multitude of people to see him, and to meet him in the way, that it was a wonder to see. He was lodged in the greatest *Temple*, which had many great and fair *Lodgings* sufficient for him and all his *Company*, except the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Zaclatan* his *Friends*, who were lodged in others. He set certain limits, out of the which he commanded straitly that none of his *Company* should pass upon pain of death; and also commanded, that they should take nothing but what should be given them. His *Commandment* was well observed, for none presumed to go a stone cast without his license. The *Indian* *Gentlemen* shewed great pleasure and courtesie to the strangers, and provided them of all things necessary, and many of them gave their *Daughters* unto them, in token of true *Friendship*, and likewise to have fruit of their *Bodies*, to be brought up for the *Wars*, being such valiant men. *Cortez* being thoroughly satisfied of their hearty good wills, demanded of them the *Estate* and *Riches* of *Montezuma*. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proved his force. And as they affirmed, it was near a hundred years, that they maintained *Wars* with him and his *Father Axalca*, and other his *Uncles* and *Grand-fathers*: They assured him also, that the *Gold* and *Treasure* of *Montezuma* was without number, and his *Power* and *Dominion* over all the *Land*, and his people innumerable; for (said they) he joyneth sometimes two hundred thousand men, yea, and three hundred thousand for one *Battel*: And if it pleased him, he would make as many men double; and thereof they were good witnesses, because they had many times fought with him. *Cortez* told them

them, he was nothing discouraged at all at his Power, but intended a journey to *Mexico*, not doubting to oppose *Montezuma*, if he should encounter him in the way. He promised them likewise that he would free them from his Tyranny, and subdue in his way all those Towns which were allied to the *Mexicans*, and did any way annoy them and their Commonwealth. They gave him hearty thanks, assuring him to assist him and accompany him to *Mexico*; and for the present offered him twenty thousand men, making a Solemn League and Covenant never to forsake him. Thus was *Tlaxcallan* subdued, and sworn to the Power and Command of the *Spaniards*, being in those times one of the chiefest, though not richest, Towns in *America*; whose Inhabitants after clave most faithfully to *Cortez*, and were chief Instruments for the subduing of *Mexico*; and therefore to this day are freed from Tribute by the Kings of *Spain*, paying not the money, which as a Tribute-tax, is laid upon every *Indian*, to be paid yearly; but only in acknowledgment of Subjection, they pay yearly one Corn of *Maiz*, which is their *Indian* Wheat. This great Town of *Tlaxcallan* is properly in the *Indian* Tongue as much as to say, as Bread well baked; for there is more Grain called *Centli* gathered, than in all the Province round about. In times past the Town was called *Texcallan*; that is to say, a Valley betwixt two Hills. It is planted by a River-side, which springeth out of a Hill called *Atlancapetec*, and watereth the most part of the Province, and from thence issueth out into the South Sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Town hath four goodly streets, which are called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiehuiztlan*. The first street standeth on high upon an Hill, far from the River, which may be about half a League; and because it standeth on a Hill, it is called *Tepeticpac*, that is to say, a Hill; and was the first Population which was founded there on high, because of the Wars. Another street is situated on the Hill side, towards the River; because at the building thereof, there were many Pine-trees, they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, a Pine-apple Plat. This street was beautiful, and most inhabited of all the Town, and there was the chiefest Market.

Market-place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquizeli*; in that street was the dwelling house of *Maxixca*. Along the River-side in the plain, standeth another street called *Tizatlan*, because there is much Lime and Chalk. In this street dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captain General of the Commonwealth. There is another street, named by reason of the brackish water *Quiahuiztlan*; but since the *Spaniards* came thither, all those Buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the Plain by the River-side, standeth the Town-house, and other Offices, as in the City of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was governed by Noble and Richmen: They used not that one alone should Rule, but did rather fly from that Government, as from Tyranny: and therefore hated *Montezuma* as a Tyrant. In their Wars (as I have said before) they had four Captains, which governed each one street; of the which four they did elect a Captain-General. Also there were other Gentlemen, that were Under-Captains, but a small number. In the Wars they used their Standard to be carried behind the Army; but when the Battel was to be fought, they placed the Standard where all the Host might see it, and he that came not incontinent to his Antient, payed a penalty. Their Standard had two Cross-bow Arrows set thereon, which they esteemed as the Reliques of their Ancestors. This Standard two old Soldiers, and Valiant men, being of the chiefeſt Captains, had then charge to carry, in the which an abuse of Sooth-saying, either of loss or victory was noted. In this order, they shot one of these Arrows against the first Enemies they met; and if with that Arrow they did either kill or hurt, it was a token that they should have the victory; and if it did neither kill nor hurt, then they assuredly believed that they should lose the field. This Province or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan* had 28 Villages and Towns, wherein were contained 150000 Housholders. They are men well made, and were good Warriors, the like were not among the *Indians*. They are very poor, and have no other riches, but only the Grain and Corn called *Centli*, and with the gain and profit thereof, they do both cloath themselves,

selves, and provide all other necessaries. They have many Market-places, but the greatest and most used daily, standeth in the street of *Ocotelulco*, which formerly was so famous, that 20000 persons came thither in one day to buy and sell, changing one thing for another; for they knew not what money meant. They have now, and had formerly, all kind of good Policy in the Town: There are Goldsmiths, Feather-dressers, Barbers, Hot-houses, and Potters, who make as good Earthen Vessels, as are made in *Spain*. The earth is fat and fruitful for Corn, Fruit and Pasture; for among the Pine-trees groweth so much grass, that the *Spaniards* feed their Cattel there, which in *Spain* they cannot do. Within two leagues of the Town standeth a round Hill of six miles in height, and five and forty miles in compass, and is now called *St. Bartholomew's Hill*, where the Snow freezeth. In times past they called that Hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for Water. They had also a God for Wine, who was named *Ometochli*, for the great Drunkenness which they used. Their chiefest God was called *Camaxtlo*; and by another name *Mixcovatl*, whose Temple stood in the street of *Ocotelulco*, in the which Temple there was sacrificed, some years, above eight hundred persons. In the Town they speak three Languages; that is to say, *Nahuatl*, which is the Courtly Speech, and the chiefest in all the Land of *Mexico*; another is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly used in the Villages: There is one only street that speaketh *Pinomer*, which is the grossest speech. There was also formerly in the Town a common Jayl, where Felons lay in Irons, and all things which they held for sin, were there corrected. At the time that *Cortez* was there, it hapned that a Townsman stole from a *Spaniard* a little Gold: Whereof *Cortez* complained to *Mexica*, who incontinent made such enquiry, that the Offender was found in *Chololla*, which is another great Town five leagues from thence: They brought the Prisoner with the Gold, and delivered him to *Cortez*, to do with him his pleasure. *Cortez* would not accept him, but gave him thanks for his diligence: Then was he carried, with a Cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market-place,

upon

upon a Scaffold, they brake his Joynts with a Cudgel : The *Spaniards* marvelled to see such strange justice, and began to be more confident, that as in this point they had endeavour'd to pleasure and right them ; so likewise they should afterward find them very forward to do their wills and pleasures for the better conquering of *Mexico* and *Montezuma*. *Ocotulco* and *Tizatlan*, are the two streets which are now most inhabited : In *Ocotulco* standeth a Cloister of Franciscan Friers, who are the Preachers of that Town : They have joyning to their Cloister a very fair Church, to which belong some fifty *Indian* Singers, Organists, Players on Musical Instruments, Trumpeters and Waits, who set out the Mass with a very sweet and harmonious Musick, and delight the Fancy and Senses, while the Spirit is sad and dull as little acquainted with God, who will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth. In *Tepeticpac* and *Quinhuiztlan* are two Chappels only, to which on the Lords-Day, and upon other occasions, the Friers of the Cloisters resort to say Mass. In this Cloister we were entertained a day and two nights with great provision of Flesh and Fish ; which are very plentiful by reason of the River : The Friers are allowed by the Town a dozen *Indians*, who are free from other services, only to fish for the Friers. They change their turns by weeks, four one week, and four another, except they be called upon for some special occasion, and then they leave all other work, and attend only with Fish upon the Friers. The Town now is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians* together, and is the Seat of a chief Officer of Justice sent from *Spain* every three years, called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth to all the Towns within twenty leagues about. Besides him, the *Indians* have likewise among themselves, *Alcaldes*, *Regidors* and *Alguaziles*, Superior and Inferior Officers of Justice, appointed yearly by the *Alcalde Major*, who keeps them all in awe, and takes from them for his service, as many as he pleaseth, without paying any thing for the service done unto him. The hard usage of this *Alcalde Major*, and other *Spaniards*, hath much decayed that populous Town, which should rather have been cherished, than disheart-

disheartned by the *Spaniards*, who by means of it gained all the rest of the Country.

C H A P. XI.

Concluding the rest of our Journey from Tlaxcallan to Mexico, through the City of Angels and Guacocingo.

THe next place most remarkable in the Road wherein we travelled, was the City called by the *Spaniards*, *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels. To the which we were desirous to go, knowing that in it there was a Convent of Dominicans of our Profession, not having met with any such since the day we departed from *St. John de Ulhua*. Here we refreshed our selves at leisure three days, finding our selves very welcome to our own Brethren, who spared nothing that was fit for our entertainment. We visited all the City, and took large notice of it; judging of the Wealth and Riches of it not only by the great Trading in it, but by the many Cloisters both of Nuns and Friars which it maintaineth, such being commonly very burthensome to the places where they live; an idle kind of Beggars, who make the people believe the maintaining of them are meritorious and saving to their Souls, and that their Prayers for them is more worth, than the means and sustenance which they receive from them. Of these there is in that City a very great Cloister of some fifty or threescore Dominicans, another of more Franciscans, another of Augustines, another of Mercenarians, another of discalced Carmelites, another of Jesuits, besides four of Nuns. This City is seated in a low and pleasant Valley, about ten leagues from a very high Mountain, which is always covered with snow: It standeth twenty leagues from *Mexico*, it was first built and inhabited in the year, 1530. by the command of *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Viceroy of *Mexico*, together with the consent of *Sebastian Ramirez*, who was a Bishop, and

and had been President in time past in *St. Domingo*, and was that year instead of *Nunnio de Guzman* (who had behaved himself very evil both with *Indians* and *Spaniards*) sent to be President of the Chancery of *Mexico*, with these other four Judges, the Licenciate *John de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiroga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*. These Judges governed the Land far better than *Nunnio de Guzman* before them had done ; and among other remarkable things they did, was to cause this City to be inhabited, and set at liberty the *Indians* who inhabited there before, and were grievously suppressed and enslaved by the *Spaniards*, and therefore many of them departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seek their living at *Xalisco*, *Honduras*, *Guatemala*, and other places, where War then was. This City was formerly called by the *Indians* *Cuetlaxcoapan*, that is to say, a Snake in water ; the reason was, because there are two Fountains, the one of evil water, and the other of good. This City is now a Bishops See, whose yearly Revenues since the cutting off from it *Xalappo de la Vera Cruz*, are yet worth above twenty thousand Duckats ; By reason of the good and wholesome air, it daily increaseth with Inhabitants, who resort from many other places to live there ; but especially in the year, 1634. when *Mexico* was like to be drowned with the inundation of the Lake, thousands left it, and came with their Goods and Families to this City of the *Angels*, which now is thought to consist of ten thousand Inhabitants. That which maketh it most famous, is the Cloth which is made in it, and is sent far and near, and judged now to be as good as the Cloth of *Segovia*, which is the best that is made in *Spain* ; but now is not so much esteemed of, nor sent so much from *Spain* to *America*, by reason of the abundance of fine Cloth which is made in this City of *Angels*. The Felts likewise that are made, are the best of all that Country : There is likewise a Glass-house, which is there a rarity, none other being as yet known in those parts. But the Mint-house that is in it, where is coyned half the Silver that cometh from *Sacatecas*, makes it the second to *Mexico* ; and it is thought, that in time it will be as great and populous as *Mexico*.

Without it there are many Gardens, which store the Markets with provision of Sallets ; the Soil abounds with Wheat, and with Sugar-farms ; among the which, not far from this City, there is one so great and populous (belonging to the Dominican Friars of Mexico) that for the work only belonging unto it, it maintained in my time above two hundred Blackmore Slaves, men and women, besides their little Children.

The chief Town between this City of *Angels* and *Mexico*, is called *Guacoeingo*, consisting of some five hundred *Indians* and one hundred *Spaniards* Inhabitants. Here is likewise a Cloister of Franciscans, who entertained us gallantly, and made shew unto us of the dexterity of their *Indians* in Musick. Those fat Friars wanted not, like the rest, all provision necessary for the Body : But their greatest glory and boasting to us, was the Education which they had given to some children of the Town, especially such as served them in their Cloister, whom they brought up to dancing after the *Spanish* fashion, at the sound of the Guitarra. And this a dozen of them (the biggest not being above fourteen years of Age) performed excellently for our better entertainment that night : We were there till midnight, singing both *Spanish* and *Indian* Tunes, capering and dancing with their Castanetta's or Knockers on their fingers, with such dexterity as did not only delight, but amaze and astonish us. True it is, we thought those Franciscans might have been better employed at that time in their Quire, at their Midnight-devotions, according to their Profession : But we still found vowed Religious Duties more and more neglected, and worldliness too too much imbraced, by such as had renounced and forsaken the World, and all its Pleasures, Sports and Pastimes.

This Town of *Guacoeingo* is almost as much as *Tlaxcallan*, privileged by the Kings of *Spain*, for that it joyned with *Tlaxcallan* against the *Mexicans*, in defence of *Hernando Cortez* and the rest of the *Spaniards* that first conquered that Land. These of *Guacoeingo* being confederate with the Inhabitants of *Tlaxcallan*, *Chololla*, and *Huacacolla*, strongly defended the
Ipha-

Inhabitants of *Chalco*, when they lent to *Cortez* for succour, declaring that the *Mexicans* made great spoil among them. Which succour *Cortez* at that time not being able to send them, being busied in sending for his Vergantines to besiege *Mexico* by water as well as by land, he remitted them to the help of the *Tlaxcalteca's*, and unto those of *Guacocingo*, *Chollolla*, and *Huacacolla*; who shewed great valour, as yet never buried in Oblivion, in relieving *Chalco* against the strength and power of *Montezuma*, who had issued out of *Mexico*, to keep the *Spaniards* from drawing near unto that City. For that fact is this Town, with the others fore-mentioned, untill this day, privileged and highly esteemed of the *Spaniards*. From hence we made our last journey to the City of *Mexico*, passing over the side of that high hill which we had discovered at the City of *Angels*, some thirty miles off. There are no Alps like unto it for height, cold and constant Snow that lieth upon it. From *Spain* to that place, we had not felt any such extremity of cold, which made the *Spaniards* that had come out of the hot Climate of *Spain*, and endured excessive heat at Sea, wonder and admire. This last journey from *Guacocingo* to *Mexico* we reckoned to be thirty *English* miles, and of the thirty miles, we judged at least fifteen to be up and down the hill; and yet the top of it (whither we ascended not) was far higher. From that highest part of it which we travelled over, we discovered the City of *Mexico*, and the Lake about it, which seemed to us to be near at hand, standing some ten *English* miles in a Plain from the bottom of this Mountain. When *Hernando Cortez* went the second time from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico*, to besiege it by Land and Water, with Vergantines which for that purpose he had caused to be made: On the side of this Mountain were his Land Forces lodged, where many had perished with cold, had it not been for the store of Wood which they found there. But in the morning he ascended upward on this hill, and sent his Scouts of four Foot-men and four Horse-men to discover, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut down by the *Mexicans*, and placed cross-wise in the way. But they thinking that yet

forwards it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great huge Cedars was such, that they could pass no further, and with this news were forced to return, certifying *Cortez* that the Horse-men could not pass that way in any wise. *Cortez* demanded of them whether they had seen any people; they answered No. Whereupon he proceeded forward, with all the Horse-men, and a thousand Foot-men, commanding all the residue of his Army to follow him with as much speed as might be; so that with that company which he carried with him, he made way, taking away the trees that were cut down to disturb his passage; and in this order in short time passed his host without any hurt or danger, but with great pain and travel; for certainly if the *Mexicans* had been there to defend that passage; the *Spaniards* had not passed; for it was then a very evil way (though now it be a reasonable wide open road, where Mules laden with wares from *St. John de Ulhua*, and the Sugar-farms daily pass) and the *Mexicans* also thought the same to be sure with the trees which were crossed the way, whereupon they were careless of that place, and attended their coming in plain ground; for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three ways, of the which *Cortez* chose the worst, imagining the thing that afterwards tell out, or else some had advised him how that way was clear from the enemies. At the descent of this hill *Cortez* abode and rested himself, till all the whole Army were come together, to descend down into the plain; for from hence they descried the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundry places, and all those who had attended their coming by the other two ways, were now gathered together, thinking to set upon them betwixt certain bridges (which are in the plain made for travellers by reason of the many dikes and currents of water which issue from the lake) where a great company abode expecting their coming. But *Cortez* sent twenty Horse-men who made way among them, and then followed the whole Army, who slew many of them without receiving any hurt: Thus did the remembrance of those antiquities newly refreshed by the object of the hill and plain beneath,
make

make that cold and hard passage more comfortable and easie unto us. The first Town we came to below the hill, was *Quahutipeec*, of the jurisdiction of *Tezcucó*; where we also called to mind, that this was the place, near unto which was pitched the Camp of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, which was near a hundred thousand men of War; who were sent by the Seniors of *Mexico* and *Tezcucó* to encounter *Cortez*; but all in vain, for his Horse-men broke through them, and his Artillery made such havock among them, that they were soon put to flight.

Three leagues from hence on our right hand as we travelled, we discovered *Tezcucó* by the side of the lake, and out of the Road; yet it ministred unto us matter of a large discourse, taken from the time of *Cortez* and the first Conquerers, who found it a great City, and at that time even as big as *Mexico*; though in it *Cortez* met with no resistance; for as he journied towards it, four principal persons inhabitants of it met with his forces, bearing a rod of gold with a little flag in token of peace, saying that *Coacuacoyocin* their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoil in his City, and Towns about it; and likewise to offer his friendship, praying also that it might please him with his whole Army to take his lodging in the Town of *Tezcucó*, where he should be well received. *Cortez* rejoycing at this message, yet jealous of some treachery, and mistrusting the people of *Tezcucó* (whose forces joyned with the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* he had met with a little before) went forward on his way and came to *Quahutican* and *Huaxuta* (which then were suburbs of the great City *Tezcucó*, but now are petty Villages by themselves) where he and all his host were plentifully provided of all things necessary, and threw down the Idols. This done he entred into the City, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the *Spaniards*, with many other his *Indian* friends. And because that at his first entry, he saw neither women nor children, he suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed upon pain of death that none of his men should go out. In the even ing the *Spaniards* went up into the Zoties and galleries

to behold the City, and there they saw the great number of Citizens that fled from thence with their stuff, some towards the mountains, and others to the waterside to take boat, a thing strange to see the great hast and stir to provide for themselves. There were at that time at least twenty thousand little boats (called *Canoes*) occupied in carrying household-stuff and passengers ; *Cortez* would fain have remedied it, but the night was so nigh at hand, that he could not. He would gladly also have apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fled unto *Mexico*. The Town of *Tezcuco* to this day is famous among the *Spaniards* ; for that it was one of the first, if not the first (which according to the Histories of those parts is very probable) that received a Christian King to rule and govern. For *Cortez* hearing that *Coacuacoyocin* then King of that City and Towns adjacent was fled, caused many of the Citizens to be called before him, and having in his company a young Gentleman of a Noble-house in that country, who had been lately christned, and had to name *Hernando* (*Cortez* being his God-father, loved him well) said unto the Citizens, that this new Christian Lord *Don Hernando* was son unto *Nezavalpincintli* their loving Lord, wherefore he required them to make him their King, considering that *Coacuacoyocin* was fled unto the enemies, laying also before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuzza* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance and Kingdom, through the enticement of *Quabutimocin* a mortal enemy to the *Spaniards*. In this sort was that new Christian *Don Hernando* elected King, and the fame thereof being blown abroad, many Citizens repaired home again to visit their new Prince, so that in short space the City was as well replenished with people as it was before, and being also well used at the *Spaniards* hands, they served them diligently in all things that they were commanded. And *Don Hernando* abode ever after a faithful friend unto the *Spaniards* in their Wars against *Mexico*, and in short time learned the *Spanish* tongue. And soon after came the inhabitants of *Quabuticban*, *Huaxuta*, and *Autenco* to submit themselves, craving

ving pardon if in any thing they had offended. Within two days after *Don Hernando* was made King of this great City and Territory belonging to it (whose borders reach unto the borders of *Tlaxcallan*) came certain Gentlemen of *Huaxuta* and *Quabutichan*, to certifie unto him, how all the power of the *Mexicans* was coming towards them, and to know if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wives, children and other goods into the mountains, or else to bring them where he was, their fear was so great. *Cortez* for the King his God-child and Favourite made unto them this answer, saying, Be ye of good courage, and fear ye not. Also I pray you to command your wives and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enemies I am glad of their coming, for ye shall see how I will deal with them. But the enemies went not to *Huaxuta*, as it was thought; nevertheless *Cortez* having intelligence where they were, went out to encounter them with two pieces of Ordnance, twelve Horsemen and two hundred *Spaniards*, and with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fled to the water, and so escaped in their *Canoa's*. Thus did *Cortez* in *Tezcucio* defend himself and friends from the great power of the *Mexicans*, who daily attempted to be revenged on him, and the new Christian King whom he had made. But *Cortez* thinking that place the most convenient to lanch his Vergantines to the water and hearing that they were finished at *Tlaxcallan*, sent *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to bring them from *Tlaxcallan*; who at the border of that Province met with them being brought in pieces, as tables, planks and nails, with all other furniture, the which eight thousand men carried upon their backs. There came also for their conduct twenty thousand men of War, and a thousand *Tamemez*, who were the Carriers of victuals and servants. *Chichimecatetl*, a principal and valiant *Indian* and Captain of a thousand men had the Rere-guard. And *Tupitil* and *Teutecatl*, very principal Gentlemen, had the Vant-guard with ten thousand men. In the midst were placed the *Tamemez*, and those that carried

ried the Foist with all the apparel of the Vergantines. Before those two Captains went a hundred *Spaniards*, and eight Horse-men, and behind and last came *Gonzalo de Sandoval* with all the residue, and seven Horsemen. Thus they took their way towards *Tezcuco*, with a marvellous noise, crying Christians, Christians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and *Spain*. When they came to *Tezcuco*, they entred in very good order, with the sound of Drums, Snail-shells, and other like instruments of musick : and against their entry into the City, they put on all their bravery of cloaths, and bushes of feathers, which was a gallant sight ; they were six hours in entering into the Town, keeping their array. At the same of this many Provinces came to submit and offer their service unto *Cortez*, some for fear of destruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the *Mexicans* ; so that now *Cortez* was strong both with *Spaniards* and *Indians* ; and his Court at *Tezcuco* was as great, or greater than *Montezuma's* formerly had been at *Mexico*. And here *Cortez* made his preparation for the siege of *Mexico* with all hast, and furnished himself with scaling ladders, and other necessities fit for such a purpose. His Vergantines being nailed and throughly ended, he made a sluice, or trench of half a league of length, twelve foot broad and more, and two fathom in depth. This work was fifty days a doing, although there were four hundred thousand men daily working ; truly a famous work and worthy of memory, which hath made *Tezcuco* gloriously mentioned, though now almost decayed in the great number of inhabitants. The Dock or Trench being thus finished, Vergantines were calked with Tow and cotton wool, and for want of Tallow and Oyl, they were (as some Authors report) driven to take Mans-grease ; not that *Cortez* permitted them to slay men for that effect, but of those which were slain in the Wars, and of such as sallied daily out of *Mexico* to hinder this work, and fighting were slain. The *Indians*, who were cruel and bloody Butchers, using sacrifice of mans flesh, would in this sort open the dead body and take out the grease. The Vergantines being lanced. *Cortez* mustered his men, and found

found nine hundred *Spaniards*, of the which were four-score and six Horse-men, and a hundred and eighteen with Cross-bows, and Harquebusses; and all the residue had sundry weapons, as Swords, Daggers, Targets, Lances, and Halberts. Also they had for Armour, Corslets, Coats of Mail, and Jacks. They had moreover three great Pieces of cast Iron, fifteen small pieces of brass, and ten hundred weight of powder, with store of shot, besides a hundred thousand *Indians* men of War. On Whitsunday all the *Spaniards* came into the field, the great plain below the high mountain spoken of before, where *Cortez* made three chief Captains, among whom he divided his whole Army. Unto *Pedro de Alvarado* the first Captain he appointed thirty Horse-men, and a hundred and seventy Foot-men of the *Spaniards*, two pieces of Ordnance, and thirty thousand *Indians*, commanding him to encamp in *Tlacopan*. Unto *Christoval de Olid* the second Captain he gave three and thirty horsemen, and a hundred and eighteen footmen of the *Spanish* Nation, two Pieces of Ordnance, and thirty thousand *Indians*, and appointed him to pitch his camp in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who was the third Captain, he gave three and twenty horsemen, and a hundred and threescore footmen, two pieces of Ordnance, and forty thousand *Indians*, with Commission to chuse a place to pitch his camp. In every Vergantine he planted a piece of Ordnance, six Harquebusses, or Cross-bows, and three and twenty *Spaniards*, men most fit for that purpose. He appointed also Captains for each, and himself for General, whereat some of the chiefeft of his Company began to murmur, that went by Land, thinking that they had been in greater danger; wherefore they required him to go with the main battel, and not by water. *Cortez* little esteemed their words: for although there was more danger in the land than in the water, yet it did more import to have greater care in the Wars by water, than on the land; because his men had been in the one, and not in the other. Besides the chiefeft hopes that *Cortez* had to win *Mexico*, were these Vessels, for with them he burnt a great part of the *Canoe's* of *Mexico*, and the rest

he

he so locked up, that they were no help unto the *Mexicans*, and with twelve only Vergantines he did annoy his enemy as much by water, as the rest of his Army did by land. All this preparation for the siege of *Mexico* by land and water, with above a hundred thousand *Indians*, besides the *Spaniards* above mentioned, and the twelve Vergantines by water, was finished in this City of *Tezcuco*, which is a sufficient argument of the greatness of it at that time, maintaining with Provision fit and necessary so many thousands of people, and it yielded matter enough unto us for a large discourse, whilst not far from the sight of it we travelled in the open and direct plain Road to *Mexico*. And as we talked of the greatness of it in former times, so likewise we now wondered to consider it to be but a small Government, where doth constantly reside a *Spanish* Governour sent from *Spain*, whose power reacheth to those borders of *Tlaxcallan* and *Guacocingo*, and to most of the petty Towns and Villages of the plain, which were formerly under the command and power of a King; but now are not able to make up above a thousand Duckats a year, which is supposed to be the yearly revenues of the Governour; and *Tezcuco* it self is this day judged to consist only of a hundred *Spaniards*, and three hundred *Indian* Inhabitants, whose chief riches come by gardening, and sending daily in their Canoes Herbs and Sallets to *Mexico*. Some wealth likewise they get by their Cedar-trees which grow there, and are ready timber for the buildings of *Mexico*. Yet now also are these Cedars much decayed by the *Spaniards*, who have wasted and spoiled them in their too too sumptuous buildings. Cortez only was accused by *Pamfilio de Narvez*, for that he had spent seven thousand beams of Cedar-trees in the work of his own house. Gardens there were in *Tezcuco* formerly, that had a thousand Cedar-trees for walls and circuit, some of them of a hundred and twenty foot long, and twelve foot in compass from end to end; but now that Garden that hath fifty Cedar-trees about it, is much regarded. At the end of this plain we passed through *Mexicalcingo*, which formerly was a great Town, but now not of above an hundred Inhabitants, and from thence to *Guetla-*

vac, a petty Village, yet most pleasant for the shade of many fruit-trees, Gardens, and stately houses which for their recreation some Citizens of *Mexico* have built there, being at the foot of the Causey which from this Town through the Lake reacheth about five *English* miles to *Mexico*. And thus upon the third day of *October*, 1625. we entred into that famous and gallant City, yet not abiding in it, but only passing through it, till we came to a house of recreation, standing among the Gardens in the way to *Chapultepec*, named Saint *Jacinto*, belonging to the Dominicans of *Manila* in the *East-India's*, (whither our course was intended) where we were stately entertained, and abode till after *Candlemas* day, the time of our second shipping at *Acaapulco*, (80 leagues from *Mexico*) by the South-sea to *Manila* the chief City of the Islands named *Philippinas*.

CHAP. XII.

Shewing some particulars of the great and famous City of Mexico in former times, with a true description of it now; and of the State and Condition of it, in the year 1625.

IT hath been no small piece of Policy in the Friars and Jesuits of *Manila* and the Islands of *Philippinas* to purchase near about *Mexico*, some house and Garden to carry thither such Missionary Priests as they yearly bring from *Spain* for those parts. For were it not that they found some rest and place of Recreation, but were presently closed up in the Cloisters of *Mexico* to follow those religious duties (which sore against their wills most of them are forced to) they would soon after a tedious journey from *Spain* by sea and land relent of their purposes of going forward, and venturing upon a second voyage by the South-sea; and would either resolve upon a return to *Spain*, or of staying in some
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part of *America*; as my self and five more of my company did, though secretly and hiddenly, and fore against the will of Fryer *Calvo* and others, who had the tutoring and conducting of us. Therefore that all such as come from *Spain* to be shipped again at *Accapulco* for *Philippinas*, may have all manner of encouragement, rest and recreations becoming their Professions, whilst they do abide in *America*; and may not be disheartned by those that live about *Mexico*, (who do truly envy all that pass that way to *Asia*) the Friers and Jesuits have purchased for their Missions houses of Recreation among the Gardens, which are exempted from the power and command of the Superiors of *Mexico*, and are subordinate unto the Government of the Provincials of *Philippinas*, who send from thence their substitute Vicars to rule, and to look to the forementioned houses and Gardens. To the Dominicans belonged this house called *St. Jacintho*, whither we were carried, and where we did abide near five months, having all things provided that were fit and necessary for our Recreations, and for our better encouragement to a second voyage by Sea. The Gardens belonging to this house might be of fifteen Acres of ground, divided into shady walks under the Orange and Lemmon-trees; there we had the Pomegranates, Figs, and Grapes in abundance, with the Plantine, Sapotte, Chicospotte, Pine-fruit, and all other fruits that were to be found in *Mexico*. The Herbs and Sallets, and great number of *Spanish Cardoes* which are sold out, brought in a great Rent yearly; for every day there was a Cart attended to be filled and sent to the Market of *Mexico*; and this not at seasons of the year, as here in *England* and other parts of *Europe*, but at all times and seasons, both Winter and Summer, there being no difference of heat, cold, frosts and snow, as with us; but the same temper all the whole year, the Winter differing only from the Summer by the rain that falls, and not by excessive frosts that nip. This we enjoyed without doors; but within we had all sorts and varieties both of fish and flesh. What we most wondred at, was the abundance of sweet meats; and especially of Conserves that
were

were provided for us ; for to every one of us during the time of our abode there, was brought on *Monday* morning half a dozen Boxes of Conserve of Quinces, and other fruits, besides our biskets, to stay our stomachs in the mornings and at other times of the day ; for in our stomachs we found a great difference between *Spain* and that Country. For in *Spain* and other parts of *Europe* a mans stomach will hold out from meal to meal, and one meal here of good cheer will nourish and cherish the stomach four and twenty hours ; But in *Mexico* and other parts of *America* we found that two or three hours after a good meal of three or four several dishes of Mutton, Veal or Beef, Kid, Turkeys or other Fowls, our stomachs would be ready to faint, and so we were fain to support them with either a cup of *Chocolatte*, or a bit of Conserve or Bisket, which for that purpose was allowed us in great abundance. This seemed to me so strange, (whereas the meat seemed as fat and hearty, excepting the Beef, as ours in *Europe*) that I for some satisfaction presently had recourse to a Doctor of Physick ; who cleared my doubt with this answer, That though the meat we fed on was as fair to look on, as in *Spain* ; yet the substance and nourishment in it came far short of it, by reason of the pasture, which is drier and hath not the change of springs which the pastures of *Europe* have, but is short and withers soon away. But secondly, he told me that the Climate of those parts had this effect, to produce a fair shew, but little matter or substance. As in the flesh we fed on ; so likewise in all the fruits there, which are most fair and beautiful to behold, most sweet and luscious to taste, but little inward vertue or nourishment at all in them, not half that is in a *Spanish Camuesa*, or *English Kentish* Pippin. And as in meat, and fruit there is this inward and hidden deceit, so likewise the same is to be found in the people that are born and bred there, who make fair outward shews, but are inwardly false and hollow-hearted. Which I have heard reported much among the *Spaniards* to have been the answer of our Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* to some that presented unto her of the fruits of *America*, that surely where those fruits grew, the women were light, and
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all the people hollow and false-hearted. But further reasons I omit to search into; for this of experience only I write; which taught me that little substance and vertue is in the great abundance and variety of food which there is enjoyed, our stomachs witnessing this truth, which ever and anon were gaping and crying, Feed, feed. Our Conserves therefore and dainties were plentifully allowed us; and all other encouragements, and no occasion denied us of going to visit *Mexico*, (which was not two full miles from us) all the while we abode there. It was a pleasant walk for us to go out in the morning, and to spend all the day in the City and come home at night, our way lying by Arches made of stone, three miles long to convey the water from *Chapultepec* unto the City. Take therefore, gentle Reader, from me what for the space of five months I could learn concerning it in former and present times. The situation of this City is much like that of *Venice*; but only differs in this, that *Venice* is built upon the Sea-water, and *Mexico* upon a lake, which seeming one, indeed is two; one part whereof is standing water; the other ebbeth and floweth, according to the wind that bloweth. That part which standeth, is wholesome, good, and sweet, and yieldeth store of small fish. That part which ebbeth and floweth, is a saltish, bitter, and pestiferous water, yielding no kind of fish, small or great. The sweet water standeth higher than the other, and falleth into it, and reverteth not backward, as some conceive it doth. The salt Lake containeth fifteen miles in breadth, and fifteen in length, and more than five and forty in circuit: and the Lake of sweet water containeth even as much, in such sort that the whole Lake containeth much about a hundred miles. The *Spaniards* are divided in opinions concerning this water and the springs of it; some hold that all this water hath but one spring out of a great and high Mountain which standeth South-west within sight of *Mexico*, and that the cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish and saltish, is that the bottom or ground is all salt; But however this opinion be true or false, certain it is and by experience I can witness that of that part
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of the salt-water great quantity of Salt is daily made, and is part of the great Trading of that City into other parts of the Country, nay it is sent part of it to the *Philippina* Islands. Others say that this Lake hath two springs, and that the fresh-water springeth out of that mountain which standeth South-west from *Mexico*, and the salt brackish water springeth out of other high Mountains which stand more North-west: But these give no reason for the saltiness of it, without it be the agitation of it in the ebbing and flowing; which not being with tides like the Sea, but with the winds only (which indeed make it as stormy sometimes as is the Sea) why may not the winds produce the same effect in the fresh water Lake? I think rather, if it spring from a different spring from that from whence springeth the fresh-water, the brackishness and saltishness of it may proceed from some brackish and sulphurous minerals through which it passeth in those Mountains. For by experience I know the like in the Province of *Guatemala*, where by a Town called *Amatitlan*, there is a standing Lake of water not altogether sweet and fresh, but a little brackish, which certainly hath its spring from a fiery Mountain called there a *Vulcano*, (whose burning proceeds from the Mines of Brimstone that are within it) from whence spring near the same Town likewise two or three Springs of exceeding hot water, which are resorted to for wholesome Baths, as coming through a sulphurous mine, and yet the standing Lake proceeding from the same Mountain is of that quality that it maketh the ground about it salt, and especially in the mornings the people go to gather up the salt which lieth upon the ground by the water-side like unto a hoary frost. But thirdly, others conceive that that part of the Lake of *Mexico* which is saltish and brackish comes through the earth from the North-Sea; and though springs of water which come from the Sea lose their brackishness through the earth, yet this may keep some brackishness by reason of the minerals, which are many in those parts; or by reason of the great, wide and open concavities of those mountains, which being very hollow within (as we find by experience

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of the Earthquakes which are more frequent there than here by reason of the wind that getteth into those concavities, and so shakes the earth to get out) give no way to the water to sweeten through the earth, or to lose all that saltness which it brought with it from the Sea. But whatsoever the true reason be, there is not the like Lake known of sweet and saltish water, one part breeding fish, the other breeding none at all. This Lake had formerly some fourscore Towns, some say more, situated round about it; many of them containing five thousand households, and some ten thousand, yea and *Texcuco* (as I have said before) was as big as *Mexico*. But when I was there, there might be thirty Towns and Villages about it, and scarce any of above five hundred households between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; such hath been the hard usage of the *Spaniards* towards them, that they have even almost consumed that poor Nation. Nay two years before I came from those parts, which were the years of 1635. and 1636. I was credibly informed that a million of *Indians* lives had been lost in an endeavour of the *Spaniards* to turn the water of the Lake another way from the City, which was performed by cutting a way through the Mountains, for to avoid the great inundations that *Mexico* was subject unto, and especially for that the year 1634. the waters grew so high that they threatned destruction to all the City, ruining a great part. and coming into the Churches that stood in the highest part of it, insomuch that the people used commonly boats and *Canoas* from house to house. And most of the *Indians* that lived about the Lake were employed to strive against this strong Element of water, which has been the undoing of many poor wretches; but especially of these thirty Towns and Villages that bordered near upon the Lake; which now by that great work is further from the houses of the City; and hath a passage made another way, though it was thought it would not long continue, but would find again its old course towards *Mexico*. This City when *Cortez* first entred into it, (was as some say) of sixty, but more probably it is reported to have

have been of fourscore thousand houses. *Montezuma* his palace was very great, large and beautiful, which in the *Indian* language was named *Tepac* ; and that had twenty doors or gates, which had their outcoming into the common streets. It had three Courts, and in the one stood a fair fountain, many halls, and a hundred chambers of three and twenty, and thirty foot long, an hundred bathes, and hot-houses ; and and all this without nails, yet very good workmanship. The walls were made of Masons work, and wrought of Marble, Jasp and other black stone, with veins of red, like unto Rubies and other stones, which glistered very fair ; the roofs were wrought of Timber, and curiously carved, being of Cedar, Cypress, and Pine-tree ; the Chambers were painted, and hung with cloath of Cotton, and of Conies hair and feathers. The beds only were unseeming this great state, very poor and of no value, such as to this day the best and richest *Indians* use ; for they wear nothing but mantles laid upon mats, or upon hay, or else mats alone. Within this Palace lived a thousand women, nay, some affirm three thousand, reckoning Gentlewomen, servants and slaves, all together ; but the most were principal *Indians* daughters ; of whom *Montezuma* took for himself those that liked him best, and the other he gave in marriage to Gentlemen his servants. It is credibly reported among the *Spaniards* that he had at one time a hundred and fifty women his wives with child, who commonly took medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State ; and these had many old women to guard them, for no man was permitted to look upon them. Besides this *Tepac*, which signifieth Palace, *Montezuma*, had yet in *Mexico* another house with very curious lodgings and fair Galleries, built upon pillars of Jasp, which looked towards a goodly Garden, in the which there was at least a dozen Ponds, some of salt-water for Sea-fowls, and others of fresh-water for River-fowls and Lake-fowls, which Ponds were devised with Sluces to empty and to fill at pleasure for the cleanness of the Fowls feathers ; and these Fowls are said to have been so many in number, that the Ponds could

scarcely hold them, and of such several sorts, and of such strange and various coloured feathers, that the most of them the *Spaniards* knew not, nor had at any time seen the like. There did belong to that house above three hundred persons of service, who had their several charges concerning these Fowls; some had care to cleanse the Ponds; others were appointed to fish for bait; others served them with meat; and to every kind of fowl they gave such bait as they were wont to feed of in the fields or rivers: others did trim their feathers; others had care to look to their eggs; others to set them abroad; and the principal office was to pluck the feathers: for of them were made rich mantles, tapistry, wrought with targets, tufts of feathers, and many other things gold and silver.

Besides this house, *Montezuma* had yet another house within *Mexico*, appointed only for hawking fowls, and fowls of rapine. In which house there were many high Halls, wherein were kept men, women, and children, such as were dwarfs, crook-backs or any monstrous persons, and with them such as were born white of colour, which did very seldom happen; nay, some would deform their children on purpose to have them carried to the Kings house, to help to set forth his greatness by their deformity. In the lower halls of this house there were Cages for fowls of rapine of all sorts, as Hawks, Kites, Boyters (which are very many in those parts) and of the Hawks near a dozen sundry kinds of them. This house had for daily allowance five hundred Turkey-cocks, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which some say were above a thousand men. The Hunters were maintained in that house, because of the ravenous beasts which were also kept in the lower Halls in great cages made of timber, wherein were kept in some Lyons, in others Tygers, in others Owls, in others Wolves; in conclusion, there was no four-footed beast wanting there, only to the effect, that the mighty *Montezuma* might say, that he had such things in his house; and all were fed daily with Turkey-cocks, Deer, Dogs, and such like. There were also in another Hall great earthen vessels,

vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were Snakes, as gross as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles which they call *Caymanes*, of twenty foot long with scales and head like a Dragon; besides many other smaller *Lisarts* and other venomous beasts and Serpents, as well of the water as of the land. To these Snakes and the other venomous beasts they usually gave the blood of men sacrificed to feed them. Others say they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great *Lisarts*, or *Caymans* eat very well. But what was wonderful to behold, horrid to see, hideous to hear in this house, was the Officers daily occupations about these beasts, the floor with blood like a gelly, stinking like a slaughter-house, and the roaring of the Lions, the fearful hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the doleful howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowful yelling of the *Ownces* and *Tigres*, when they would have meat. And yet in this place, which in the night season seemed a dungeon of hell, and a dwelling place for the Devil, could a heathen Prince pray unto his Gods and Idols; for near unto this Hall was another of a hundred and fifty foot long and thirty foot broad, where was a chappel with the roof of silver and gold in leaf wainscotted and decked with great store of pearl and stone, as *Agats*, *Cornerines*, *Emeralds*, *Rubies*, and divers other sorts; and this was the Oratory where *Montezuma* prayed in the night season, and in that chappel the Devil did appear unto him, and gave him answer according to his prayers, which as they were uttered among so many ugly and deformed beasts, and with the noise of them which represented Hell it self, were fitted for a Devils answer. He had also his Armoury, wherein was great store of all kind of such Ammunition which they used in their Wars, as Bows, Arrows, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubs, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targets, more trim than strong, and all made of Wood, gilt or covered with Leather. The Wood whereof they made their Armour and Targets was very hard and strong; and at their arrows ends they enclosed a little piece of flint-stone, or a piece of a fish bone called *Libisa*, which was so venomous, that if any were hurt with it, and

the head remained in the wound, it so festered that it was almost incurable. Their Swords were of Wood, and the edge thereof was flint stone, inclosed or joyned into a staff; and with these swords they cut spears, yea and a Horse neck at a blow, and could make dents into Iron, which seemeth a thing impossible and incredible. These flints were joyned into the staffs with a certain kind of glue, which was made of a root called *Zacolt*, and *Tuxalli*, which is a kind of strong sand, whereof they made a mixture, and after kneaded it with the blood of Bats, or Rear-mice and other fowl, which did glew so strong, that it scarce ever uncleaved again; and of these *Montezuma* had in his house of Armour great store. But besides these houses it is wonderful to relate yet many others which that great heathen Emperour had for his only recreation and pastime, with excellent fair gardens of medicinal herbs, sweet flowers, and trees of delectable flavour. But of one garden more especially it is said, that in it there were a thousand personages made, and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. And *Montezuma* would not permit that in this garden should be any kind of Pot herbs, or things to be sold, saying that it did not appertain to Kings to have things of profit among their delights and pleasures, for that such did appertain to Merchants. Yet out of *Mexico* he had Orchards with many and sundry fruits; and likewise pleasant houses in Woods and Forrests, of great compass, environed with water, in the which he had fountains, rivers, ponds with fish, rocks and coverts where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves and such like, whither he himself seldom went; but the Lords of *Mexico* used to go to sport themselves in them. Such and so many were the houses of *Montezuma*, wherein few Kings were equal with him. He had daily attending upon him in his privy guard six hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen, and each of them three or four servants, and some had twenty servants or more according to their estate; and the most credible report goes, that in this manner he had three thousand men attendants in his Court, all which were fed in his house of the meat that came from his table. There were in those times under the *Mexican* Empire

Empire three thousand Lords of Towns, who had many vassals but more especially there were thirty of high estate, who were able to make each of them a hundred thousand men of War. And all these Noblemen did abide in *Mexico* a certain time of the year in the Court of *Montezuma*, and could not depart from thence without especial licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a son or brother behind them for security of rebellion; and for this cause they had generally houses in the City; such and so great was the Court of *Montezuma*. Moreover he spent nothing in the buildings of all these his houses, for he had certain Towns that payed no other tribute, but only to work and repair continually his houses at their own proper cost, and paid all kind of workmen, carrying upon their backs, or drawing in sleds stone, lime, timber, water, and all other necessaries for the work. Lifewise they were bound to provide all the wood that should be spent in the Court, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some days in the Winter much more. But especially for the Emperours chimnies they brought the bark of Oak-trees, which was esteemed for the light. Thus was that great City formerly illustrated with a mighty Monarch, his houses and attendants. There were then also in *Mexico* three sorts of streets, very broad and fair; the one sort was only of water, with many bridges, another sort of only carth, and the third of earth and water, the one half being firm ground to walk upon, and the other half for boats to bring provision to the City; the most part of the houses had two doors, the one toward the Cawsey, and the other toward the water, at the which they took boat to go whither they list. But this water (though so near to the houses) being not good to drink, there is other water fresh and sweet brought by conduit to *Mexico*, from a place called *Chapultepec* three miles distant from that City, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foot whereof stood formerly two statues, or images, wrought in stone, with their Targets and Launces, the one of *Montezuma*, the other of *Axaiaca* his father. The water is brought from thence to this day in two pipes built upon Arches of brick and stone

like a fair-bridge; and when one pipe is foul, then all the water is conveyed into the other, till the first be made clean. From this fountain all the whole City is provided, and the Water-mengo sell the same water from street to street, some in little boats, others with earthen Tankards upon Mules or Asses-backs. The chief and principal division of this City when the *Spaniards* first conquered it, was into two streets; the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to say, a little Island, and the other *Mexico* where *Montezuma* his dwelling and Court was, signifying in the language a spring. And because of the Kings palace there, the whole City was named *Mexico*. But the old and first name of the City according to some Historians was *Tenuchtitlan*, which signifieth fruit out of a stone, being a compounded name of *Tetl*, which in the language is stone, and *Nuchtli*, which is a sweet fruit called generally in *Cuba*, and all other parts of *America* by the *Spaniards*, *Tunas*; the name of the tree whereon this fruit groweth is called *Nopal*. And when this City began to be founded, it was placed near unto a great stone that stood in the midst of the lake, at the foot whereof grew one of these *Nopal* trees; which is the reason why *Mexico* giveth for arms and device the foot of a *Nopal* tree springing from a stone according to the first name of the City *Tenuchtitlan*. But others do affirm, that this City hath the name of the first founder of it, called *Tenuch*, the second son of *Iztacmixcoatl*, whose sons and descendents did first inhabit all that of part *America* which is now called *New Spain*. *Mexico* is as much as to say a spring or fountain, according to the property of the vowel or speech, from whence some judge that City to be so named. But others do affirm that *Mexico* hath its name from a more ancient time, whose first founders were called *Mexiti*, for unto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one street of this City are called of *Mexica*. And that these *Mexiti* took name of their principal Idol called *Mexitli*, who was in as great veneration as *Vitzilopuchili*, the God of War. But others affirm (and this opinion is most received among the *Spaniards*) that the *Mexicans* first were the inhabitants of *Nova Galicia*; from whence

whence they made a violent irruption, *Anno Domini* 720. and lingered in divers places till the year 902. when under the leading of *Mexi* their chief Captain they built this City, and called it after the name of their General. They were in all seven Tribes, which ruled long in an Aristocratical state; till the most puissant of the Tribes called *Navatallas*, elected a King to whom they submitted themselves. The first King that was thus elected, was called *Vitzilovilli*; the second, *Acamopitzli*; the third, *Chimalpapoca*; the fourth, *Izchoalt*; the fifth, *Montezuma* the first; the sixth, *Acacis*; the seventh *Axaiaca*; the eighth, *Antzlol*; the ninth, *Montezuma* the second, who reigned when *Cortez* came first; the tenth, was *Quabutimoc*, who lost *Mexico*, and in whom ended that *Indian* Empire. The most fortunate of these Kings was *Izchoalt*; who by his cousin *Tlacaellec*, subdued the other six Tribes, and brought them under the *Mexican* Kings. And after the death of *Izchoalt*, *Tlacaellec* was by the first electors (which were six in number) chosen King, as a man of whose vertue they had formerly made tryal. But he very noble refused it, saying that it was more convenient for the Commonwealth that another should be King, and that he should execute that which was otherwise more fit for the necessity of the State, than to lay the whole burden upon his back; and that without being King, he would not leave to labour for the publick as well as if he were King. Upon this generous refusal they made choice of *Montezuma* the first. The most unhappy Kings of that nation (at whose birth could not but be some disastrous aspect of the Planets) were the two last, *Montezuma* the second, and *Quabutimoc*, who were both vanquished by *Ferdinando Cortez*, who took *Montezuma* prisoner out of his own palace, and with fair words and language carried him to his lodgings in *Mexico*; and kept him there, knocking a pair of gyves on his legs, until the execution of *Qualpopoca* Lord of *Nabutlan*, now called *Almeria* (who was to be burnt for killing nine *Spaniards*) was past. But this imprisonment of their Emperor stirred up the hearts of all the *Mexicans* to conspire against *Cortez*, and the *Spaniards*, against whom they fought

a most fierce and bloody battel two or three days together, crying out for their Emperor, and threatning them with the cruellest death that ever man suffered. Whereupon *Cortez* desired *Montezuma* to go up into the Sotie of his house which they were battering with stones, and to command his subjects to cease from their heat and fury; who at *Cortez* his request went up and leaned over the wall to talk with them, and beginning to speak unto them, they threw so many stones out of the street, houses, and windows, that one happened to hit *Montezuma* on the temples of the head, with which blow he fell down dead to the ground; and this was his end, even at the hands of his own subjects and vassals against their walls, in the City of his greatest glory, and in the power and custody of a foreign and strange nation. The *Indians* affirm that he was of the greatest blood of all his Image, and the greatest King in estate that ever was in *Mexico*. And from hence it may very well be noted, that when Kingdoms do most flourish, then are they next to a change, or else to change their Lord, as doth appear in this History of *Montezuma*, whose great glory and majesty prefiged the downfall of that City and people; who though after the death of *Montezuma* they made *Quahutimoc* their Emperor, and persisting in their furious battery against *Cortez* his palace, caused him and all his *Spaniards* to flie out of *Mexico*; yet having strengthened themselves again in *Tlaxcallan*; and prepared sixteen, or as others say, eighteen *Vergantines* for the lake, they soon after besieged *Mexico* so by water and land, that the Citizens were in great necessity, and so many dead with hunger and sickness, that there were heaps of dead bodies in houses, only to keep close their extreme misery; who would not yield even when they saw their King *Quahutimoc* his fair houses burned, and the greatest part of their City consumed with fire and beaten down plain with the ground, so long as they could enjoy any one street, Tower, or Temple to defend themselves and oppose the *Spaniards*: who after many fierce and bloody fights by land and with their boats by water having won the chief Market-place and most of the City, as they went walking in

in the streets found heaps of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water, and the very barks of trees and roots gnawn by the hungry creatures, and the men so lean and yellow that it was a pitiful sight to behold. And with this *Cortez* yet required them to yield; but they although they were so lean of body were strong in heart, and answered that he should not speak of any friendship to them, nor yet hope of their spoil, for when no fortune would favour them, then they would either burn their treasure, or throw it into the Lake, where they should never profit thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remain alive.

Cortez desirous to see what remained of the City to win, went up into a high Tower, and having well viewed the City, he judged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And assailing the same, the sorrowful Citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and destiny, beseeching the *Spaniards* to make an end, and to kill them all out of hand; others standing at the brim of the water near unto a draw-bridge cried out. O Captain *Cortez*, seeing that thou art the Child of the Sun, why dost thou not intreat the Sun thy Father to make an end of us? O thou Sun that canst go round about the World in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of us and take us out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetzacatl* who tarrieth for us. *Cortez* seeing the great extremity that these poor wretched people were in, thinking now that they would yield unto him, sent a message to *Quahutimoc*, desiring him to consider his Subjects great extremity, which yet might be greater, if he yielded not to Peace. But when the stubborn King heard this ambassage, he was so moved with Ire and choler, that forthwith he commanded *Cortez* his Ambassadour to be sacrificed, and gave the rest of the *Spaniards* that went with him for answer blows with stones, staves and Arrows, saying that they desired death and no Peace. Whereupon *Cortez* seeing the King so stubborn and refractory after so much slaughter and misery of his subjects, after so many Combates and skirmishes made with the loss of almost

all the City, sent forthwith *Sandoval* with his Vergantines one way, and went himself another combating the houses and forts that yet remained, where he found small resistance, so that he might do what he pleased. One would have thought there had not been five thousand left in all the City, seeing the heaps of dead bodies that lay about the streets and in the houses, and yet such was this last combate, that there were that day slain and taken prisoners forty thousand persons. The lamentable cry and mourning of the women and children, would have made a strong heart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderful noisom. That night *Cortez* purposed to make an end the next day of the Wars: and *Quahutimoc* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked himself in a *Canoe* of twenty Oars. When they day appeared, *Cortez* with his men, and four Pieces of Ordnance came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut up as Cattel in a Pound. He gave order to *Sandoval* and *Alvarado* what they should do, which was to be ready with their Vergantines, and to watch the coming out of the *Canoe's*, which were hid betwixt certain houses, and especially to have regard unto the Kings person, and not to hurt him, but to take him alive. He commanded the residue of his men to force the *Mexican* boats to go out, and he himself went up into a Tower, inquiring for the King, where he found *Xibwacoa*, Governour and Captain General of the City, who would in no wise yield himself. Then came out of the City a great multitude of old folks, men, women and children to take boat. The throng was so great with hast to enter the *Canoe's*, that many by that means were drowned in the Lake. *Cortez* required his men not to kill those miserable creatures; But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends of *Tlaxcallan*, and other places, who slew and sacrificed above fifteen thousand. The men of War stood in the house tops, and *Zoties* beholding their perdition. All the Nobility of *Mexico* were embarked with the King. Then *Cortez* gave sign with the shot of a hand-gun, that his Captains should be in a readines, so that in short space they wan fully and wholly the great City of *Mexico*. The Vergan-
tines

tines likewise brake in among the Fleet of boats without any resistance, and presently beat down *Quabutimoc* his Royal Standard. *Garcia Holguin* who was a Captain of one of the Vergantines, espied a great *Canoa* of twenty Oars deep laden with men, who (being by one of his prisoners informed that the King was in it) gave chase to it and presently overtook it. When *Quabutimoc*, who stood upon the Poop of his *Canoa* ready to fight, saw the *Spaniards* Cross-bows bent to shoot, and many drawn swords against him, he yielded himself, delaring that he was King: *Garcia Holguin* being a glad man of such a prisoner took him and carried him unto *Cortez*, who received him very respectfully. But when *Quabutimoc* came near unto him, he laid his hand upon *Cortez* his dagger, saying, I have done all my best and possible endeavor to defend my self and my Vassals according to my duty, hoping not to have come to this estate and place where now I stand; and considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. *Cortez* comforted him with fair words, giving him hope of life: and took him up into a *Zotie*, requiring him to command his Subjects that yet held out, to yield and render themselves. Which *Quabutimoc* presently performed; and at that time after so many Prisoners taken, and so many thousands slain and starved, there were about threescore and ten thousand persons, who seeing that Prince a Prisoner, threw down their weapons and submitted themselves. Thus did *Hernando Cortez* win the famous and stately City of *Mexico*, on the 13. day of *August*, Anno Dom. 1521. In remembrance whereof every year on that day they make in *Mexico* a sumptuous feast and solemn procession, wherein is carried the Standard Royal, with the which the City was won. In the loss of it was as much to be observed as Antiquity can produce of any Victory; wherein was one Emperor the greatest that ever was in in those parts slain; and another as great a Warrior as ever *America* had known, taken Prisoner. The Siege endured from the time the Vergantines came from *Tlaxcallan* three months, and therein were on *Cortez* his side near 200000 *Indians*, who daily

daily increased and came in to help him, 900 *Spaniards*; fourscore horses only, seventeen or eighteen Pieces of Ordnance; sixteen or as some say eighteen Vergantines, and at least 6000 *Canoa's*. In this Siege were slain fifty *Spaniards* only and six horses, and not above eight thousand of the *Indians* Cortez his friends. And on the *Mexicans* side were slain at least a hundred and twenty thousand *Indians*, besides those that died with hunger and Pestilence. At the defence of the City were all the Nobility, by reason whereof many of them were slain. The multitude of People in the City was so great, that they were constrained to eat little, to drink salt-water, and to sleep among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench; and for these causes the disease of Pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered their valour, and stedfast determination; for although they were afflicted with such hunger that they were driven to eat boughs, rinds of trees, and to drink salt-water, yet would they not yield themselves. And here also is to be noted, that although the *Mexicans* did eat mans flesh, yet they did eat none but such as were their enemies; for had they eaten one another and their own children, there would not so many have died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not only because they abode with their husbands and fathers, but also for the great pains they took with the sick and wounded persons; yea and also they laboured in making slings cutting stones fir for the same, and throwing stones from the *Zoties*; for therein they did as much hurt as their men. The City was yielded to the spoil, and the *Spaniards* took the gold, plate and feathers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuff. Thus was that famous City ruined, and burnt by the *Spaniards*, and the power of that Nation brought under the *Spanish* subjection. Cortez having found the air of that City very temperate and pleasant for mans life, and the situation commodious, thought presently of rebuilding it, and of making it the chiet Seat of Justice and Court for all that Country. But before I come to speak of it as rebuilded and now flourishing,

I must add unto what hath been said of *Montezuma* his former state and houses in it, the greatness of the Market-place and Temple, which was in it, when the *Spaniards* ruined and destroyed it. The conveniency of the Lake about this City gave encouragement to the *Mexicans* to set apart a most spacious Market-place, whither all the Country about might resort to buy, exchange and sell; which was the more easie for them by reason of the abundance of Boats which were made only for such Traffique. In this great lake there were at that time above two hundred thousand of these little boats, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Canoe's*, wrought like a kneading trough, some bigger than others according to the greatness of the body of the tree, whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speak of the least, for *Mexico* alone had above fifty thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the City victual, provision, and passengers, so that on the market days all the streets of water were full of them. The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquixtli*; every Parish had his Market place to buy and sell in; but *Mexico* and *Tlatelulco* only, which are the chiefest Cities, had great Fairs and places fit for the same; and especially *Mexico* had one place, where most days in the year was buying and selling; but every fourth day was the great Market ordinarily. This place was wide and large, compassed about with doors, and was so great that 100000 persons came thither to chop and change, as a City most principal in all that region. Every occupation and kind of merchandize had his proper place appointed, which no other might by any means occupy or disturb. Likewise pesterous wares had their place accordingly. such as stone, timber, lime, brick and all such kind of stuff unwrought, being necessary to build withal. Also mats both fine and coarse, of sundry workmanship; also coals, wood, and all sorts of earthen vessels, glazed and painted very curiously. Deer-skins both raw and tanned, in hair, and without hair, of many colours, for Shoemakers, for Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden corslets, also skins of other beasts,

beasts, and fowl in feathers ready dressed of all sorts. The colours and strangeness thereof was a thing wonderful to behold. The richest merchandize was salt, and mantles of Cotton-wool of divers colours, both great and small; some for beds, other for garments and clothing, other for Tapistry to hang houses; other Cotten-cloth was wont to be sold there for linnen drawers (which to this day the *Indians* use) for shirts, table-cloaths, towels and such like things. There were also mantles, made of the leaves of a tree called *Metl*, and of the Palm-tree and Conie-hair, which were well-esteemed, being very warm, but the Coverlets made of feathers were the best. They sold thred there made of Conie-hair, and also skins of other thred of all colours. But the great store of poultreys which was brought to that Market was stranger to see, and the uses they sold and bought them for; for although they did eat the flesh of the fowl, yet the feathers served for clothing, mixing one sort with another. But the chief bravery of that market was the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought were sold; for any thing that was in request, was there lively wrought in gold and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* were so expert and perfect in this science, that they would work or make a butter-flie, any wild beast, trees, roses, flowers, herbs, roots, or any other thing so lively that it was a thing marvellous to behold. It hapned many times that one of these workmen in a whole day would eat nothing, only to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sun, into the shade or dark place to see where was his most natural perfection, and till his work were finished he would neither eat nor drink. There are few nations of so much steame or substance. The art, or science of Goldsmiths among them was the most curious, and have good workmanship engraven with tools made of flint or in mould. They will cast a platter in mould with eight corners, and every corner of several metal, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of solder. They will also found or cast a little cauldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as we use to cast a bell; they will also cast in mould

Chap. XII. *of the West-Indies.*

III

mould a fish of metal, with one scale of silver on his back, and another of gold; they will make a Parrot or Popinjay of metal that his tongue shall shake, and his head move, and his wings flutter; they will cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir; and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea an apple in his hand as though he would eat it. They have skill also in Enamelling and to set any pretious stone. But now as touching the market, there was to sell Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Latten, and Tin; although there was but very little of the three last metals mentioned. There were pearls, precious stones, divers and sundry sorts of shels, and bones, Sponges, and Pedlers ware. There were also many kind of herbs, roots, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine; for both men, women and children had great knowledge in herbs, for through poverty and necessity they did seek for their sustenance and help of their infirmities and diseases. They did spend little among Physicians, although there were some of that Art, and many Apothecaries, who did bring into the market, ointments, syrups, waters, and other drugs fit for sick persons. They cure all diseases almost with herbs: yea as much as for to kill lice they have a proper herb for the purpose. The several kinds of meats to be sold was without number, as Snakes without head and tail, little dogs gelt, Moles, Rats, Long-worms, Lice, yea, and a kind of earth; for at one season in the year they had nets of Mail, with the which they raked up a certain dust that is bred upn the water of the lake of *Mexico*, and that is kneaded together like unto Oaze of the sea. They gathered much of this and kept it in heaps, and made thereof Cakes like unto Brick-bats. And they did not only sell this ware in the Market, but also sent it abroad to other Fairs and Markets afar off; and they did eat this Meal with as good a stomach as we eat Cheese: yea, and they hold opinion, that this skum or fatness of the water is the cause that such great number of fowl cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite. They sold likewise in this Market Venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogs, and many other beasts, which they

they brought up for the purpose and took in hunting. The great store of sundry kinds of fruits was marvellous, which were there sold, both green and ripe. There is a sort as big as an Almond called *Cacao* (whereof is the drink called *Chocolate* well known now in Christendom) which is both meat and currant money. In these times of the bigger sort sixscore or seven score, and of the lesser sort two hundred are worth a *Spanish Rial*, which is sixpence, and with these the *Indians* buy what they list; for five, nay for two *Cacao's* which is a very small part of a Rial, they do buy fruits and the like. There were divers kinds of colours to be sold, which they made of roses, flowers, fruits, barks of trees, and other things very excellent. All the things recited, and many others which I speak not of, were sold in this great Market, and in every other Market of *Mexico*; and all the sellers payed a certain sum for their shops or standings to the King, as a Custom, and they were to be preserved and defended from thieves and robbers, And for that purpose there went Serjeants and Officers up and down the Market to spie out malefactors. In the midst of this Market stood an house, which was to be seen throughout the Fair, and there did sit commonly twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch law-matters. Their buying and selling was to change one ware for another, one gave a hen for a bundle of Maiz, others gave mantles for salt or money which was *Cacao*. They had measure and strike for all kind of corn, and other earthen measures for honey and oyl, and such wines as they made of Palm trees, and other roots and trees. And if any measure were falsified, they punished the Offenders and brake their measures. This was the civility they had when they were Heathens, for buying and selling. And although they knew not the true God, but worshipped Idols; yet to their Idols and to the Devil they dedicated Temples and places of worship, wherein they used those sacrifices which *David* speaks of in *Psal.* 106. 37. saying, *They sacrificed their sons and their Daughters unto Devils.*

The Temple is called in the *Mexican* language *Teucalli*, which is a compound word of *Teutl*, which signifieth God,

God, and *Calli*, which signifieth a house. There were in *Mexico* many Parish-Churches with towers, wherein were Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols did stand. All their Temples were of one fashion; the like I believe was never seen nor heard of. And therefore it shall be now sufficient to describe the chief and greatest Temple, which was as their Cathedral Church. This Temple was square, and did contain every way as much ground as a Cross-bow can reach level. It was made of stone, with four doors that lookt towards the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the City that had no Cawsey, but a fair street. In the midst of this Quadern stood a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fifty fathom long every way, built upward like unto a Pyramid of *Egypt*, saving that the top was not sharp, but plain and flat, and ten fathom square. Upon the West side were steps up to the top, in number a hundred and fourteen, which being so many, high and made of good stone, did seem a beautiful thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going up, and some down with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple were two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so high the edge or brim of the wall, that scarcely a man might go behind them at pleasure. The one Altar stood on the right hand, and the other on the left; they were but of five foot high; each of them had the back part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foul figures. The Chappel was fair and well wrought of Masons work and timber; every Chappel had three lofts one above another, sustained upon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like unto a fair tower, and beautified the City afar off. From thence a man might see all the City and Towns round about the lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because *Cortez* and his company should see the beauty thereof, *Montezuma* himself (to make the more ostentation of his greatness and the Majesty of his Court) carried the first *Spaniards* thither, and shewed them all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certain plot or space for the Idol Priests to celebrate their service

vice without disturbance of any. Their general prayers were made toward the rising of the sun: upon each Altar stood a great Idol.

Besides this Tower which stood upon the Pyramid, there were forty towers great and small belonging to other little Temples which stood in the same circuit; the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not West-ward, but other ways, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger than others, and every one of a several God; among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the air called *Quecalcovatl*; for even as the air goeth round about the heavens, even for that consideration they made this Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a door made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foul and devilish gestures, with great teeth and gums wrought, which was a sight to fear those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians unto whom it represented hell it self with that ugly face and monstrous teeth. There were other *Teucallies* in the City, that had the ascending up by steps in three places; and all these Temples had houses by themselves with all service belonging to them, and Priests, and particular Gods. And from this manner of these Heathens Temples, and Altars, made with steps, we may observe how like unto them is now the Church of Rome, which as it confesseth that there never was a Church without a visible sacrifice; and therefore teacheth that Christs body must be broken upon their Altars, and distributed not only as a Sacrament to the people, but as a sacrifice in the Priests hands, differing only that the sacrifices of Sheep and Oxen in the old Law, and these of the Heathens were bloody sacrifices, but theirs of Christs body they call *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an unbloody sacrifice; so likewise in the buildings of their Churches with several Towers and Altars and Chappels dedicated to several Saints they seem to have taken from the very Heathens; but especially in the many steps whereby they ascend up to their Altars, they resemble these, forgetting Gods words in *Exod.*

20 26. saying, *Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine Altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.* And lastly in their houses and Cloisters joyning to their Churches for the service of them, being full of idolatrous Priests and Friars consecrated for their service, they seem likewise to have borrowed that fanſie of Convents, Abbies, and Priories from the very Heathens, who (as presently I shall shew) had near joyning to this great Temple, houses containing thousands of Priests, with yearly rents and revenues, like those of *Romes* Abbies, and Cloisters. At every door of this great Temple of *Mexico* stood a large hall, and goodly lodgings both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the City. The Heathens it seems had so much understanding as to know that the force and strength of a Town, City, or Country is the Temple, and therefore they placed there their storehouse of munition.

They had other dark houses full of Idols great and small, wrought of sundry metals, which were all bathed and washed with blood, and did shew very black through their daily sprinkling and anointing them with the same, when any man was sacrificed; yea and the walls were an inch thick with blood, and the ground a foot thick of it, so that there was a devilish stench. The Priests went daily into those Oratories, and suffered none other but great personages to enter in. And when any such went in, they were bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and Ministers of the Devil might wash their hands in the blood of those so sacrificed, and might sprinkle their house therewith. For their service in the Kitchen they had a pond of water, that was filled once a year, which was brought by the Conduit pipes before mentioned, from the principal fountain. All the residue of the foresaid circuit served for places to breed fowls, with gardens of herbs and sweet trees, with roses and flowers for the Altars; and this is also the Church of *Romes* custom and superstition, to trim and deck their Saints and Altars with Garlands and Crowns of Roses and other flowers. Such, so great and strange was

this Temple of *Mexico*, for the service of the Devil, who had deceived those simple *Indians*. There did reside (as I said before of Monks and Friars in their Cloisters joyning to their Churches) in this Temple and houses joyning to it, continually five thousand persons, and all these were lodged and had their living there; for that Temple was marvellous rich, and had divers Towns only for their maintenance, and reparation, and were bound to sustain the same always on foot. These Towns did sow corn, and maintain all those five thousand persons with bread, flesh, fish, and firewood as much as they needed, for they spent more firewood than was spent in the Kings Court. These persons did live like *Romes* Abby-lubbers at their hearts ease, as servants and vassals unto the Gods, which were many; and every God had several ranks and Orders of Priests to serve him; as the several Saints canonized by the Popes of *Rome* have under them distinct Religious Orders of Priests, *Dominick* hath Dominicans, *Francis* Franciscans, *Benedict* Benedictines, *Basil* Basilians, *Bernard* Bernardines, *Augustin* Augustines, and the like.

The Gods of *Mexico* (as the *Indians* reported to the first Spaniards) were two thousand in number; the chiefeſt were *Vitzilopuchtli*, and *Tezcatlipuca*, whose Images stood highest in the Temple upon the Altars. They were made of stone in full proportion as big as a Gyant. They were covered with a lawn called *Nacar*; they were beset with pearls, precious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beast, fishes, and flowers, adorned with Emeralds, Turquois, Chalcedons; and other little fine stones, so that when the lawn was taken away, the Images seemed very beautiful and glorious to behold. But must I find out *Rome* still among these Heathens? and will the Papists be angry if I tell them plainly that what I mislike in these Idolatrous *Mexicans*, I mislike in them? for do not they deck and adorn their Idol Saints, as the heathens did *Vitzilopuchtli* and *Tezcatlipuca*? Do not they cover their wooden and stony statues, of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary* with fine lawn shirts, and hide them with curtains of cloth of Gold, and crown them with Crowns of Silver

Silver, and Gold, and enrich them with costly and precious Jewels and Diamonds : not considering that they are the works of their own hands ? *Ad quid perditio hæc ? poterant enim venundari, & dari pauperibus.* These two Indian Idols had for a girdle great Snakes of gold, and for collars or chains about their necks ten hearts of men made of gold; and each of them had a counterfeit Visor with eyes of glass, and in their necks Death painted. These two Gods were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Vitzilopuchtli*, God of the Wars; who was worshipped and feared more than all the rest. There was another God, who had a great Image placed upon the top of the Chappel of Idols, and he was esteemed for a special and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kind of seeds that grow in that Country; which being ground, they made a certain past tempered with childrens blood and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with rasors in their breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits unto the Idol. The Priests consecrated this Idol with great pomp and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens were present at the Consecration with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the Consecration many devout persons came and stuck in the doughy Image precious stones, wedges of gold, and other Jewels. And after all this pomp ended, no secular man might touch that holy Image; no nor yet come into his Chappel; nay, scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlumacaztli*, who were Priests of Order. They did renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old. And then (like again unto the Papists who think themselves happy with their Saints reliques, though rags or bones) blessed was he that could get one piece of the old rags, or a piece of the old dough, for the which there was most earnest suits made by the Soldiers; who thought themselves sure therewith in the Wars. Also at the consecration of this Idol, a certain vessel of water was blessed with many words and ceremonies (peradventure from this heathenish Ceremony came the superstitious holy water to Rome) and that water was preserved very religiously at the

foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to bleis any Captain General, when he should be elected for the Wars, with only giving him a draught of that water. And as the *Romish* Church makes much of their dead mens skulls and rotten bones, laying them up in their Church-yards under some arches made for that purpose in the Church-walls, even so was it here in *Mexico*; for without this Temple, and over against the principal door thereof, a stones cast distant stood a Charnel-house only of dead mens heads, prisoners in Wars and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theatre, more large than broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps; in the walls whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a skull with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theatre, were two towers made only of lime and skulls, the teeth outward, which having no other stuff in the wall seemed a strange sight. At and upon the top of the Theatre, were three-score and ten poles, standing the one from the other four or five foot distant, and each of them was full of staves from the foot to the top. Each of these staves had others made fast unto them, and every one of them had five skulls broched through the temples. When the *Spaniards* first entered into *Mexico* as friends before the death of *Montezuma* they visited all these monuments; and in what they have written and transmitted to posterity of that City, it is recorded of one *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria* that one day they did reckon these skulls, and found a hundred thirty and six thousand skulls on the poles, staves and steps. The other Towers were replenished out of number; and there were men appointed, that when one skull fell, to set up another in his place, so that the number might never want. But all these Towers and Idols were pulled down, and consumed with fire, when the *Spaniards* wan that City. And certainly they had been more renowned in destroying those Altars of the Devil and those Idol Gods, if in their stead they had not set up new Idols and Saints of Rocks and stones, and built unto them as many more Churches

Churches as they found at their coming thither. All therefore that hath been mentioned hitherto of *Montezuma* his houses and Gardens, of the spacious Market-place, and Temples of that City was utterly destroyed and brought down to the very ground. But *Cortez* re-edified it again, not only for the situation and Majesty, but also for the name and great fame thereof. He divided it among the Conquerours, having first taken out places for Churches, Market-places, Town-house and other necessary plots to build houses, profitable for the Commonwealth. He separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that now the water passeth and maketh division betwixt them. He promised to them that were naturals of the City of *Mexico* plots to build upon, inheritance, freedom, and other liberties, and the like unto all those that would come and inhabit there, which was a means to allure many thither. He set also at liberty *Xihuaco*, the General Captain, and made him chief over the *Indians* in the City, unto whom he gave a whole street. He gave likewise another street to *Don Pedro Montezuma* who was son to *Montezuma* the King. All this was done to win the favour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Islands, and streets to build upon, and to inhabit, and in this order the whole situation was repared, and the work began with great joy and diligence. And when the fame was blown abroad that *Mexico* should be built again, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither hearing of liberty and freedom. The numbers was so great that in three miles compass was nothing but people men and women. They laboured sore and did eat little, by reason whereof many sickened, and pestilence ensued, whereof died an infinite number. Their pains was great, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lime, brick, and all other things necessary in this sort; And by little and little *Mexico* was built again with a hundred thousand houses more strong and berter than the old building was. The *Spaniards* built their houses after the *Spanish* fashion; and *Cortez* built his house upon the plot where *Montezuma* his

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house stood, which renteth now yearly four thousand ducats, and is called now the Palace of the Marquess *Del Valle*, the King of *Spain* having conferred unto *Cortez* and his heirs this title from the great Valley of *Guaxaca*. This Palace is so stately that (as I have observed before) seven thousand beams of Cedar Trees were spent in it. They built fair Docks covered over with Arches for the Vergantines; which Docks for a perpetual memory do remain until this day. They dammed up the streets of water, where now fair houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, and especially since the year 1634. the water cometh not by far so near the City as it was wont to come. The Lake sometimes casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesom and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountains that stand round about it, and well provided through the fertility of the Countrey, and commodity of the Lake. So that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the World, in extention of the situation for *Spanish* and *Indians* houses. Not many years after the Conquest it was the Noblest City in all *India* as well in Arms as Policy. There were formerly at the least two thousand Citizens, that had each of them his horse in his stable with rich furniture for them, and Arms in readines. But now since all the *Indians* far and near are subdued, and most of them especially about *Mexico* consumed, and there is no fear of their rising up any more against the *Spaniards*, all arms are forgotten, and the *Spaniards* live so secure from enemies, that there is neither Gate, Wall, Bulwark, Platform, Tower, Armory, Ammunition, or Ordnance to secure and defend the City from a Domestick or forein enemy; from the latter they think *St. John de Ulhua* sufficient and strong enough to secure them. But for Contrabation it is one of the richest Cities in the World; to the which by the north-Sea cometh every year from *Spain* a Fleet of near twenty ships laden with the best Commodities not only of *Spain* but of the most parts of Christendom. And by the South-Sea it enjoyeth Traffique from all parts of *Peru*; and above all it Trades with the *East-India's* and from thence receiveth the Commodities as well from those parts

parts which are inhabited by *Portuguese*, as from the Countries of *Japan* and *China*, sending every year two great *Caracas* with two smaller Vessels to the Islands of *Philippinas*, and having every year a return of such like ships. There is also in *Mexico* a Mint-house where Money is daily coined; and is brought thither in wedges upon Mules from the Mines called *St. Lewis de Sacatecas*, standing fourscore Leagues from *Mexico* Northward, and yet from *Sacatecas* forward have the *Spaniards* entred above a hundred Leagues, conquering daily *Indians*, where they discover store of Mines; and there they have built a City, called *Nova Mexico*, *New Mexico*. The *Indians* there are great Warriors, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to it. It is thought the *Spaniard* will not be satisfied, till he subdue all the Country that way, which doubtless reacheth to our plantations of *Virginia*, and the rest, being the same continued continent land. There is yet more in *Mexico*, a fair School, which now is made an University, which the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza* caused to be built. At the rebuilding of this City there was a great difference betwixt an Inhabitant of *Mexico* and a Conqueror; for a Conqueror was a name of honour, and had lands and rents given him and to his posterity by the King of *Spain*, and the Inhabitant or only dweller paid rent for his house. And this hath filled all those parts of *America* with proud *Dons* and Gentlemen to this day; for every one will call himself a descendent from a Conqueror, though he be as poor as *Job*; and ask him what is become of his Estate and fortune, he will answer that fortune hath taken it away, which shall never take away a *Don* from him. Nay a poor Cobler or Carrier that runs about the Countrey far and near getting his living with half a dozen Mules, if he be called *Mendoza*, or *Guzman*, will swear that he descended from those Dukes houses in *Spain*, and that his Grand-father came from thence to Conquer, and subdued whole Countries to the Crown of *Spain*, though now fortune hath frowned upon him, and covered his rags with a thred-bare Cloak. When *Mexico* was rebuilt, and Judges, Aldermen, Attornies, Town Clerks, Notaries,

Notaries, Scavengers, and Serjeants with all other Officers necessary for the Common-weal of a City were appointed; the fame of Cortez and Majesty of the City was blown abroad into far Provinces, by means whereof it was soon replenished with *Indians* again, and with *Spaniards* from *Spain*, who soon Conquered above four hundred Leagues of Land, being all governed by the Princely Seat of *Mexico*. But since that first rebuilding, I may say it is now rebuilt the second time by *Spaniards*, who have consumed most of the *Indians*; so that now I will not dare to say there are a hundred thousand houses which soon after the Conquest were built up, for most of them were of *Indians*. Now the *Indians* that live there, live in the suburbs of the City, and their situation is called *Guadalupe*. In the year 1625. when I went to those parts, this Suburb was judged to contain five thousand Inhabitants; But since most of them have been consumed by the *Spaniards* hard usage and the work of the Lake. So that now there may not be above two thousand Inhabitants of meer *Indians*, and a thousand of such as they call there *Mestizos*, who are of a mixt nature of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, for many poor *Spaniards* marry with *Indian* women, and others that marry them not but hate their husbands, find many tricks to convey away an innocent *Uriah* to enjoy his *Bathsheba*. The *Spaniards* daily couzen them of the small plot of ground where their houses stand, and of three or four houses of *Indians* build up one good and fair house after the *Spanish* fashion with Gardens and Orchards. And so is almost all *Mexico* new built with very fair and spacious houses with Gardens of recreation. Their buildings are with stone, and brick very strong, but not high, by reason of the many Earth-quakes, which would indanger their houses if they were above three stories high. The streets are very broad, in the narrowest of them three Coaches may go, and in the broader six may go in the breadth of them, which makes the City seem a great deal bigger than it is. In my time it was thought to be of between thirty and forty thousand inhabitants *Spaniards*, who are so proud and rich, that half the City was judged to keep Coaches, for it was a
most

most credible report that in *Mexico* in my time there were above fifteen thousand Coaches. It is a by-word that at *Mexico* there are four things fair, that is to say, the women, the apparel, the horses, and the streets. But to this I may add the beauty of some of the Coaches of the Gentry, which do exceed in cost the best of the Court of *Madrid* and other parts of Christendom; for there they spare no Silver, nor Gold, nor precious stones, nor Cloth of Gold, nor the best Silks from *China* to enrich them. And to the gallantry of their horses the pride of some doth add the cost of bridles, and shoes of silver. The streets of Christendom must not compare with those in breadth and cleanness, but especially in the riches of the shops which do adorn them. Above all the Goldsmiths shops and works are to be admired. The *Indians*, and the people of *China* that have been made Christians and every year come thither, have perfected the *Spaniards* in that Trade. The Viceroy that went thither the year 1625. caused a *Popinjay* to be made of silver, gold, and precious stones with the perfect colours of the *Popinjays* feathers, (a bird bigger than a Pheasant) with such exquisite art and perfection, to present unto the King of *Spain*, that it was prized to be worth in riches and workmanship half a Million of Duckats. There is in the Cloister of the Dominicans a lamp hanging in the Church with three hundred branches wrought in silver to hold so many Candles, besides an hundred little lamps for oyl set in it, every one being made with several workmanship so exquisitely, that it is valued to be worth four hundred thousand Duckats; and with such like curious works are many streets made more rich and beautiful from the shops of Goldsmiths. To the by-word touching the beauty of the women I must add the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is such that the day and night is too short for them to end a *Primera* when once it is begun; nay gaming is so common to them that they invite Gentlemen to their houses for no other end. To my self it happened that passing along the streets in company with a Frier that came with me that year from *Spain*, a Gentlewoman of great birth knowing us to be

be *Chapetons* (so they call the first year those that come from *Spain*) from her window called unto us, and after two or three slight questions concerning *Spain*, asked us if we would come in and play with her a Game at *Primera*. Both men and women are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloth; precious Stones and Pearls further much this their vain ostentation; a hat-band and rose made of Diamonds in a Gentlemans hat is common, and a hat-band of Pearls is ordinary in a Tradesman; nay a Blackmore or Tauny young maid and slave will make hard shift but she will be in fashion with her Neckchain and Bracelets of Pearls, and her Ear-bobs of some considerable Jewels. The attire of this baser sort of people of Blackmoors and Mulatta's (which are of a mixt-nature, of *Spaniards* and Blackmoors) is so light, and their carriage so enticing, that many *Spaniards* even of the better sort (who are too too prone to Venerie) disdain their Wives for them. Their cloathing is a Pettycoat, of Silk or Cloath, with many silver or golden Laces, with a very broad double Ribband of some light colour, with long silver or golden Tags hanging down before, the whole length of their Pettycoat to the ground, and the like behind; their Waistcoats made like bodies, with skirts, laced likewise with gold or silver, without sleeves, and a girdle about their body of great price stuck with Pearls and knots of Gold, (if they be any ways well esteemed of) their sleeves are broad and open at the end, of *Holland* or fine *China* linnen, wrought some with coloured silks, some with silk and gold, some with silk and silver, hanging down almost unto the ground; the locks of their heads are covered with some wrought quoif, and over it another of network of silk bound with a fair silk, or silver or golden ribband which crosseth the upper part of their forehead; and hath commonly worked out in letters some light and foolish love posie; their bare, black and tauny breasts are covered with bobs hanging from their chains of pearls. And when they go abroad, use a white mantle of lawn or cambrick rounded with a broad lace, which some put over their heads, the breadth reaching only their middle behind,

hind, that their girdle and ribbands may be seen, and the two ends before reaching to the ground almost; others cast their mantles only upon their shoulders, and swaggerers like, cast the one end over the left shoulder, that they may the better jog the right arm, and shew their broad-sleeve as they walk along; others instead of this mantle use some rich silk pettycoat, to hang upon their left shoulder, while with their right arm they support the lower part of it, more like roaring boys, than honest civil maids. Their shoes are high and of many soles, the outside whereof of the profaner sort are plated with a list of silver, which is fastned with small nails of broad silver heads. Most of these are or have been slaves, though love has set them loose at liberty, to enslave souls to sin and Satan. And there are so many of this kind both men and women grown to a height of pride and vanity, that many times the *Spaniards* have feared they would rise up and mutiny against them. And for the looseness of their lives, and publick scandals committed by them and the better sort of the *Spaniards*, I have heard them say often who have professed more religion and fear of God, they verily thought God would destroy that City, and give up the Country into the power of some other Nation.

I will not relate particulars of their obscene and scandalous, yea and publick carriages which would offend my Readers patience, and make his ears to tingle; only I say, certainly God is offended with that second *Sodom*, whose inhabitants though now they be like the green bay tree flourishing with jewels, pearls, gold, silver, and all wordly pleasures; *They shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb, Psal. 37. 2.* And though their great Master and Cardinal Bellarmine make outward happiness and flourishing a mark and note of a true Church and Congregation of Gods People; and of my self I could say with David in the 73. *Psal. 2, 3.* when I lived blindly amongst them, *My feet were almost gone, my feet had well-nigh slipt; for I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked;* yet now being enlightened in a more sure and certain truth, I will conclude of them, as David
of

of the flourishing wicked men of his time in the same *Psalm* the 16, 17, 18. Verses, *When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me, till I went into the Sanctuary of God, then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places; thou callest them down to destruction.* And I doubt not but the flourishing of *Mexico* in coaches, horses, streets, women, and apparel is very slippery, and will make those proud inhabitants slip and fall into the power and dominion of some other Prince of this world, and hereafter in the world to come, into the powerful hands of an angry Judge, who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, which *Paul* saith *Heb. 10. 31. is a fearful thing.* For this City doth not only flourish in the ways aforesaid, but also in their superstitious worshipping of God and Saints, they exceed *Rome* it self, and all other places of Christendom. And it is a thing which I have very much and carefully observed in all my travels both in *Europe* and *America*, that in those Cities wherein there is most lewd licentiousness of life, there is also most cost in the Temples, and most publick superstitious worshipping of God and of the Saints.

It seems that Religion teacheth that all wickedness is allowable, so the Churches and Clergy flourish; nay while the purse is open to lasciviousness, if it be likewise opened to enrich the temple walls and roofs, this is better than any their holy water to wash away the filth of the other. *Rome* is held to be head of superstition; and what stately Churches, Chappels, and Cloisters are in it? what fastings, what processions, what appearances of devotion? and on the other side, what liberty, what profaneness, what whoredoms, nay what sins of *Sodom* are committed in it? Inasmuch that it could be the saying of a Frier to my self while I was in it, that he verily thought there was no one City in the world wherein were more Atheists than in *Rome*. I might shew this truth in *Madrid*, *Sevil*, *Valadolid*, and other famous Cities in *Spain*, and in *Italy*, in *Millan*, *Genoa* and *Naples*, relating many instances of scandals committed in those places, and yet the Temples mightily enriched by
such

such who have thought those alms a sufficient warrant to free them from Hell and Purgatory. But I must return to *Mexico* which is *mille testes* of this truth, sin and wickedness abounding in it; and yet no such people in the world toward the Church and Clergy, who in their life time strive to exceed one another in their gifts to the Cloisters of Nuns and Friars, some erecting Altars to their best devoted Saints, worth many thousand thousand duckats, others presenting crowns of gold to the pictures of *Mary*, others lamps, others golden chains, others building Cloisters at their own charge, others repairing them, others at their death leaving to them two or three thousand duckats for an annual stipend. Among these great Benefactors to the Churches of that City I should wrong my History if I should forget one that lived in my time, called *Alonso Cuellar*, who was reported to have a Closet in his house laid with bars of gold instead of bricks; though indeed it was not so, but only reported for his abundant riches and store of bars of gold which he had in one chest standing in a closet distant from another, where he had a chest full of wedges of silver. This man alone built a Nunnery of Franciscan Nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand duckats, and left unto it for the maintenance of the Nuns two thousand duckats yearly, with obligation of some Masses, to be said in the Church every year for his soul after his decease. And yet this mans life was so scandalous, that commonly in the night with two servants he would round the City, visiting such scandalous persons whose attire before hath been described, carrying his beads in his hands, and at every house letting fall a bead, and tying a false knot, that when he came home in the morning towards break of the day he might number by his beads the uncivil stations he had walked and visited that night. But these his works of darkness came to light, and were published far and near for what happened unto him whilst I was in *Mexico*; for one night meeting at one of his stations with a Gentleman that was jealous of him, swords on both sides were drawn, the Concubine first was stabbed by the Gentleman who was better manned and attended;

attended; and Cuellar (who was but a Merchant) was mortally wounded and left for dead, though afterwards he recovered. Great Alms and liberality towards Religious Houses in that City commonly are coupled with great and scandalous wickedness. They wallow in the bed of riches and wealth, and make their Alms the Coverlet to cover their loose and lascivious lives. From hence are the Churches so fairly built and adorned. There are not above fifty Churches and Chappels, Cloisters and Nunneries, and Parish Churches in that City; but those that are there are the fairest that ever my eyes beheld, the roofs and beams being in many of them all daubed with gold, and many Altars with sundry marble pillars, and others with Brasil wood, staves standing one above another with Tabernacles for several Saints richly wrought with golden colours, so that twenty thousand Duckats is a common price of many of them. These cause admiration in the common sort of people, and admiration brings on daily adoration in them to those glorious spectacles and images of Saints; so Satan shews Christ all the glory of the Kingdoms to entice him to admiration, and then *All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me, Mat. 4. 8, 9.* The Devil will give all the world to be adored.

Besides these beautiful buildings, the inward riches belonging to the Altars are infinite in price and value, such as Copes, Canopies, Hangings, Altar-cloths, Candlesticks, Jewels belonging to the Saints, and crowns of gold and silver, and Tabernacles of gold and Crystal to carry about their Sacrament in Procession, all which would mount to the worth of a reasonable Mine of silver, and would be a rich prey for any nation that could make better use of wealth and riches. I will not speak much of the lives of the Friars and Nuns of that City, but only that there they enjoy more liberty than in the parts of Europe (where yet they have too much) and that surely the scandals committed by them do cry up to heaven for vengeance, judgment and destruction.

In my time in the Cloister of the Mercenarian Friars which

which is entitled for the Redemption of Captives, there chanced to be an election of a Provincial to rule over them, to the which all the Priors and heads of the Cloisters about the country had resorted, and such was their various and factious difference; that upon the suddain all the Convent was in an uproar, their Canonical election was turned to mutiny and strife, knives were drawn, many wounded, the scandal and danger of murther so great, that the Viceroy was fain to interpose his authority and to sit amongst them and guard the Cloister until their Provincial was elected. It is ordinary for the Fryers to visit their devoted Nuns, and to spend whole days with them, hearing their musick, feeding on their sweet-meats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call *Loquuntorios*, to talk in, with wooden bars between the Nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the Fryers to dine at; and while they dine, the Nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and Citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these Nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of Conserves and Preserves, all sorts of musick, which is so exquisite in that City, that I dare be bold to say, that the people are drawn to their Churches more for the delight of the musick, than for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players, and to entice the people to their Churches, make these children to act short dialogues in their Quires, richly attiring them with mens and womens apparel, especially, upon Midsummer-day, and the eight days before their Chrismas, which is so gallantly performed, that many factious strifes, and single combats have been, and some were in my time, for defending which of these Nunneries most excelled in musick, and in the training up of children. No delights are wanting in that City abroad in the world, nor in their Churches, which should be the house of God, and the souls, not the senses delight.

The chief place in the City is the Market-place, which though it be not as spacious as in *Montezuma* his time,

Yet is at this day very fair and wide, built all with Arches on the one side, where people may walk dry in time of rain, and there are shops of Merchants furnished with all sorts of stuffs and silks, and before them sit women selling all manner of fruits and herbs; over against these shops and Arches is the Viceroy his Palace, which taketh up almost the whole length of the market with the walls of the house and of the gardens belonging to it. At the end of the Viceroy his Palace, is the chief Prison which is strong of stone work. Next to this is the beautiful street called *la Plateria*, or Goldsmiths street, where a mans eye may behold in less than an hour many millions worth of gold, silver, pearls and jewels. The street of *St. Austin* is rich and comely, where live all that trade in silks; but one of the longest and broadest streets is the street called *Tacuba*, where almost all the shops are of Ironmongers, and of such as deal in brass and steel, which is joyning to those Arches whereon the water is conveyed into the City, and is so called for that it is the way out of the City to a Town called *Tacuba*; and this street is mentioned far and near, not so much for the length and breadth of it, as for a small commodity of needles which are made there, and for proof are the best of all those parts. For stately buildings the street called *del Aquila*, the street of the eagle, exceeds the rest, where live Gentlemen, and Courtiers, and Judges belonging to the Chancery, and is the palace of the Marquess *del Valle* from the line of *Ferdinando Cortez*; this street is so called from an old Idol an Eagle of stone which from the conquest lieth in a corner of that street, and is twice so big as *London-stone*. The gallants of this City shew themselves daily some on horse-back, and most in coaches about four of the clock in the afternoon in a pleasant shady field, called *la Alameda*, full of trees and walks, somewhat like unto our *More-fields*, where do meet as constantly as the Merchants upon our *Exchange* about two thousand Coaches, full of Gallants, Ladies, and Citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted, the Gentlemen having their train of *Black-*

moor slaves some a dozen, some half a dozen, waiting on them, in brave and gallant Liveries heavy with gold and silver lace, with silk stockings on their black legs, and roses on their feet, and swords by their sides; the Ladies also carry their train by their Coaches side of such jet-like Damsels as before have been mentioned for their light apparel, who with their bravery and white mantles over them seem to be, as the Spaniard saith, *mosca en leche*, a fly in milk. But the train of the Viceroy who often goeth to this place is wonderful stately, which some say is as great as the train of his Master the King of *Spain*. At this meeting are carryed about many sorts of sweet-meats and papers of comfits to be sold, for to relish a cup of cool water, which is cried about in curious glasses to cool the blood of those love-hot Gallants. But many times these their meetings sweetned with conserves and comfits have sour sauce at the end, for jealousy will not suffer a Lady to be courted, no nor sometimes to be spoken to, but puts fury into the violent hand to draw a sword or dagger, and to stab or murder whom he was jealous of, and when one sword is drawn thousands are presently drawn, some to right the party wounded or murdered; others to defend the party murdering, whose friends will not permit him to be apprehended, but will guard him with drawn swords untill they have conveyed him to the Sanctuary of some Church, from whence the Viceroy his power is not able to take him for a legal tryal.

Many of these sudden skirmishes happened whilst I lived about *Mexico*; of which City a whole volume might be compiled, but that by other Authors much hath been written, and I desire not to fill my History with trifles, but only with what is most remarkable in it. I may not omit yet, from the situation of it upon a lake, to tell that certainly the water hath its passage under all the streets of it; for toward the street of St. *Austin*, and the lower parts of the City, I can confidently aver that in my time before the removing of the Lake those that died were rather drowned than buried, for a grave could not be digged with

an ordinary graves depth, but they met with water, and I was eye-witness of many thus buried, whose coffins were covered with water. And this is so apparent that had not the Cloister of the *Augustines* often been repaired and almost rebuilt, it had quite sunk by this. In my time it was a repairing, and I saw the old pillars had sunk very low, upon the which they were then laying new foundations, and I was credibly informed that that was the third time that new pillars had been erected upon the old which were quite sunk away. This City hath but three ways to come unto it by Causey; the one is from the West, and that Causey is a mile and a half long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the City hath no entry; but Southward the Causey is five miles long, which was the way that *Cortez* entred into it, when he conquered it.

The fruit called *Nuchtli* (whereof I have spoken before, and some say this City was called *Tenuchtilitan* from it) though it be in most parts of *America*, yea and now in *Spain*, yet in no place there is more abundance of it than in *Mexico*, and it is absolutely one of the best fruits in it. It is like unto the Fig, and so hath many little kernels or grains within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are green without, and carnation-like within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled; the best sort are the white; It is a fruit will last long. Some of them taste of Pears, and other some of Grapes. It is a cold and a fresh fruit and best esteemed in the heat of Summer. The *Spaniards* do more esteem them than the *Indians*. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruit is so much the better. There is yet another kind of this fruit red, and that is nothing so much esteemed, although his taste is not evil; but because it doth colour and die the eaters mouth, lips and apparel, yea and maketh the Urine look like pure blood. Many *Spaniards* at their first coming into *India*, and eating this fruit, were amazed and at their

their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out into Urine; yea and many Physicians at their first coming were of the same belief. And it hath happened when they have been sent for unto such as have eaten this fruit, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the Urine, by and by they have administred medicines to staunch blood; a thing to laugh at, to see Physicians so deceived. The skin of the outside is thick and full of little small prickles, and when it is cut downright with one cut to the kernels, with one finger you may uncleave the whole skin round about without breaking it, and take out the fruit to eat. The *Spaniards* use to jest with strangers, taking half a dozen of them, and rubbing them in a napkin, those small prickles which can scarce be seen or perceived stick invisibly unto the napkin, wherewith a man wiping his mouth to drink, those little prickles stick in his lips so that they seem to sow them up together, and make him for a while falter in his speech, till with much rubbing and washing they come off. There is another fruit twice of the bigness of a great Warden, which they call the growing *Manjer Blanco*, or white meat, which is a dainty dish made by them with the white of a Capon, Cream, and Rice, and Sugar and sweet-meats, much like unto the which tasteth this fruit. It is as sweet as any hony, and dissolves like melted snow in the mouth into a juyce most luscious; within, it is full of hard black kernels or stones, which being cracked are bitter, and these not joyned together, but by division one from another, each one having a bag, or little skin discerning them in their ranks and orders, so that when you cut this fruit in the middle it represents a Chequer-board with black and white; the white is suckt or eaten and the kernels thrown away. But I cannot forget that which they call *Pinia*, or Pine-apple; not the Pine-apple of the high Pine-tree, but a Pine-apple, that groweth upon a lower shrub with prickly leaves, and is bigger than our biggest Muskmelons in *England*, when it is ripe; it is yellow without and within; without it is full of little bunches, and within so juicy and cool that

nothing more dangerous than to eat much of it. Before they eat it, they cut it in round slices, and lay it a while in salt and water, and so being scoured half an hour in that salt and water, which taketh much of the rawness and coldness from it, and then putting it into dishes with more fresh water they eat it thus. But the better way of eating it, is preserved, which is absolutely the best preserve in all that Country. There is also the Grape, (though they make not wine of it) the Apple, the Pear, the Quince, the Peach, the Apricock, the Pomegranate, the Muskmelon, the Plantin, the Fig, the Walnut, the Chesnut, the Orange, the Lemon both sour and sweet, the Citron in great abundance. Most of the fruits of *Europe*, and as many more which *Europe* never knew. About *Mexico* more than in any other part groweth that excellent tree called *Metl*, which they plant and dress as they do their Vines in *Europe*. It hath near forty kinds of leaves, which serve for many uses; for when they be tender they make of them Conserves, Paper, Flax, Mantles, Mats, Shooes, Girdles, and Cordage. On these leaves grow certain prickles so strong and sharp that they use them instead of saws: from the root of this tree cometh a juyce like to syrup, which being sod will become Sugar. You may also make of it Wine and Vinegar. The *Indians* often become drunk with it. The rine roasted healeth hurts and sores, and from the top boughs issueth a Gum, which is an excellent antidote against payson. There is nothing in *Mexico* and about it wanting which may make a City happy; and certainly had those that have so much extolled with their pens the parts of *Granada* in *Spain*, *Lombardy* and *Florence* in *Italy*, making them the earthly Paradise, had they been acquainted with the new World and with *Mexico*, they would have recanted their untruths.

O that the Lord were truly worshipped where he hath poured forth the treasures of his goodness for the children of men! O that in that *Eden* the tempting and enticing Serpent were not so much obeyed in the use of the fair seeming Apple of pleasures, and the Lord that hath enriched it with such varieties so much neglected! How long.

O Lord God, how long shall the line of the wicked flourish, and the best portion be sold to Idolaters and to the workers of iniquity!

This City is the seat of an Archbishop, and of a Viceroy, who commonly is some great Nobleman of *Spain*, whose power is to make Laws and Ordinances, to give directions and determine controversies, unless it be in such great causes, which are thought fit to be referred to the Council of *Spain*. And though there be about the Country many Governments with several Governors, yet they are all subordinate to this Viceroy, and there are at least four hundred leagues of land all governed by the princely Seat of *Mexico*; most of the Governors about the Country being the Viceroy's Creatures, placed by him, do contribute great gifts and bribes for their preferment; so likewise do all the rest whose right or wrong proceedings depend upon the Viceroy his clemency and mercy in judging the daily appeals of Justice which come unto him. The King of *Spain* allows him out of his Exchequer yearly a hundred thousand duckats whilst he governs; his time being but five years. But commonly with their bribes to the Courtiers of *Spain*, and to the Counsellors for the Estate of the *India's*, they get a prorogation of five years more, and sometimes of ten. It is incredible to think what this Viceroy may get a year in that place, besides his hundred thousand duckats of rent, if he be a man covetous and given to trading, (as most of them are) for then they will be Masters of what commodities they please, and none else shall deal in them, but themselves; as did the Marquis of *Serralvo* in my time, who was the best Monopolist of salt that ever those parts knew. This man was thought to get a Million a year, what with gifts and presents, what with his Trading to *Spain* and *Philippinas*. He governed ten years, and in this time he sent to the King of *Spain* a *Popinjay* worth half a Million, and in one year more he sent the worth of a Million to the Count of *Olivares*, and other Courtiers to obtain a prorogation for five years more. Besides the Viceroy there are commonly six Judges and a Kings Attorney, who are al-

lowed out of the Kings Exchequer yearly twelve thousand duckats a piece rent, besides two *Alcaldes de Corte*, or high Justices, who with the Viceroy judge all Chancery and criminal causes. But these, though united together they may oppose the Viceroy in any unlawful and unjustifiable action, as some have done, and have smarted for it, yet commonly they dare not: So that he doth what he listeth, and it is enough for him to say, *Stat pro ratione voluntas*. This power joyned with covetousness in the Viceroy, and three-score thousand duckats yearly, joyned with pride in the Archbishop, was like to be the ruin of that City in the year 1604. Then was the Count of *Gelves* Viceroy, and *Don Alonso de Zerna* Archbishop, whose two powers striving and striking at one another like two flints, had almost brought to combustion that gallant City, and did set on fire the Viceroy's Palace, and the Prison joyning to it.

The story was thus, which may be profitable for other Nations, to beware of covetous Governours and proud Prelates; and therefore I thought fit to insert it here. The Count of *Gelves* was in some things one of the best Viceroyes and Governours that ever the Court of *Spain* sent to *America*, for he was called by the *Spaniards*, *El terrible Justicieroy*, *fuego de Ladrones*, that is, terrible for Justice, and fire to consume all Thieves. For he cleared all the highways of Thieves, hanging them as often as they were caught without mercy, and did send out Troops and Officers to apprehend them, so that it was generally reported that since the conquest unto those days of his there had never been so many Thieves and Malefactors hanged up as in his time. So in all other points of justice he was severe and upright. But yet covetousness did so blind him not to see his own injustice, that before he could see it, he had brought the City of *Mexico* and the whole Kingdom to a danger of rebellion. What he would not to be seen in himself, he acted by others his instruments. And one of them was one *Don Pedro Mexia*, a mighty rich Gentleman of *Mexico*, whom he chose to joyn with him in monopolizing all the Indian Maiz, and Wheat about the Country. *Don Pedro Mexia*

Mexia of the *Indians* brought at the price he list their *Maiz*, and the *Wheat* of the *Spaniards* he bought it according to that price at which it is taxed by the law of that land to be sold at in time of famine ; which is at fourteen *Rials* a bushel, (which is not much there considering the abundance of gold and silver) at which price the *Farmers* and husbandmen knowing it to be a plentiful year, were glad and willing to sell unto him their wheat, not knowing what the end would be, and others fearing to gainsay him, whom they knew to be the *Viceroy's* Favorite. Thus *Don Pedro Mexia* filled all his barns which he had hired about the Country, and himself and the *Viceroy* became owners of all the wheat. He had his officers appointed to bring it into the Markets upon his warning, and that was when some small remnants that had escaped his fingers were sold, and the price raised. Then hoised he his price, and doubled it above what it had cost him. The poor began to complain, the rich to murmur, the tax of the law was moved in the Court of Chancery before the *Viceroy*. But he being privy to the Monopoly expounded the law to be understood in time of famine, and that he was informed, that it was a plentiful year as ever had been, and that to his knowledge there was as much brought into the Markets as ever had been, and plenty enough for *Mexico* and all the Countrey. Thus was the law slighted, the rich mocked, the poor oppressed, and none sold wheat but *Don Pedro Mexia* his officers for himself and the *Viceroy*. When Justice would be no father, the people go to their mother the Church ; and having understood the business better, and that it was *Don Pedro Mexia*, who did tyrannize and oppress them with the *Viceroy* his favour, they intreat the Archbishop to make it a case of Conscience, and to reduce it to a Church censure. *Don Alonso de Zerna* the Archbishop, who had always stomached *Don Pedro Mexia* and the *Viceroy*, to please the people, granted to them to excommunicate *Don Pedro Mexia*, and so sent out bills of excommunication to be fixed upon all the Church doors against *Don Pedro* ; who not regarding the excommunication, and keeping close at home

home, and still selling his wheat, raising higher the price than it was before; the Archbishop raised his censure higher against him, adding to it a Bill of *Cessatio à divinis*, that is, a cessation from all divine service. This Censure is so great with them, that it is never used but for some great mans sake, who is contumacious and stubborn in his ways, contemning the power of the Church. Then are all the Church doors shut up, (let the City be never so great) no Masses are said, no prayers used, no preaching permitted, no meetings allowed for any publick devotion or calling upon God. Their Church mourns as it were, and makes no shew of spiritual joy and comfort, nor of any communion of prayers one with another, so long as the party continues stubborn and rebellious in his sin and scandal, and in not yielding to the Churches censure. And further whereas by this cessation *à divinis*, many Churches and especially Cloisters suffer in the means of their livelihood, who live upon what is dayly given for the Masses they say, and in a Cloister where thirty or forty Priests say Mass, so many pieces of Eight or Crowns in Mexico do dayly come in; therefore this censure or *cessatio à divinis* is so inflicted upon the whole Church (all suffering for it as they say in spiritual, and some in temporal ways) that the party offending or scandalizing, for whose sake this curse is laid upon all, is bound to satisfie all Priests and Cloisters which in the way aforesaid suffer, and to allow them so much out of his means, as they might have dayly got by selling away their Masses for so many crowns for their dayly livelihood. To this would the Archbishop have brought Don Pedro Mexia, to have emptied out of his purse near a thousand crowns dayly, towards the maintenance of about a thousand Priests (so many there may be in Mexico) who from the Altar sell away their bread-God to satisfie with bread and food their hungry stomachs. And secondly by the peoples suffering in their spiritual comfort, and non-communion of prayers and idolatrous worship, he thought to make Don Pedro Mexia odious to the People. Don Pedro perceiving the spiteful intents of the Archbishop, and
hearing

hearing the outcries of the people in the streets against him, and their cries for the use and liberty of their Churches, secretly retired himself to the Palace of the Viceroy, begging his favour and protection, for whose sake he suffered. The Viceroy immediatly sent out his Orders, commanding the bills of excommunication and *cessatio à divinis* to be pulled from the Church doors, and to all the Superiors of Cloisters to set open their Churches, and to celebrate their service and Masses as formerly they had done. But they disobeying the Viceroy through blind obedience to their Archbishop, the Viceroy commanded the Archprelate to revoke his censures. But his answer was, that what he had done, had been justly done against a publick offender and great oppressor of the poor, whose cries had moved him to commiserate their suffering condition, and that the offenders contempt of his first excommunication had deserved the rigour of the second censure; neither of the which he would nor could revoke until *Don Pedro Mexia* had submitted himself to the Church and to a publik absolution, and had satisfied the Priests and Cloisters who suffered for him, and had disclaimed that unlawful and unconscionable Monopoly, wherewith he wronged the whole Commonwealth, and especially the poorer sort therein.

Thus did that proud Prelate arrogantly in terms exalt himself against the authority of his Prince and Ruler, contemning his command with a flat denial, thinking himself happy in imitating *Ambrose* his spirit against the Emperour *Theodosius*, trusting in the power of his keys, and in the strength of his Church and Clergy, which with the rebellion of the meaner sort he resolved to oppose against the power and strength of his Magistrate. The Viceroy not brooking this sawcy answer from a Priest, commanded him presently to be apprehended and to be guarded to *St John de Ulhua*, and there to be shipped for *Spain*. The Archbishop having notice of this the Viceroy his resolution retired himself out of *Mexico* to *Guadalupe*, with many of his Priests and Prebends leaving a bill of Excommunication upon the Church doors against the Viceroy himself, and

and thinking privily to flie to *Spain*, there to give an account of his carriage and behaviour. But he could not flie so fast, but the Viceroy his care and vigilancy still eyed him, and with his Serjeants and Officers pursued him to *Guadalupe*. Which the Archbishop understanding, he betook himself to the Sanctuary of the Church, and there caused the candles to be lighted upon the Altar, and the sacrament of his Bread God to be taken out of the Tabernacle, and attiring himself with his Pontifical Vestments, with his Mitre on his head, his Crozier in one hand, in the other he took his God of bread, and thus with his train of Priests about him at the Altar, he waited for the coming of the Serjeants and Officers, whom he thought with his God in his hand, and with a Here I am, to astonish and amaze, and to make them as Christ the Jews in the garden, to fall backwards, and to disable them from laying hands upon him. The Officers coming into the Church went towards the Altar where the Bishop stood, and kneeling down first to worship their God, made a short prayer; which being ended, they propounded unto the Bishop with courteous and fair words the cause of their coming to that place, requiring him to lay down the Sacrament; and to come out of the Church, and to hear the notification of what orders they brought unto him in the Kings name. To whom the Archbishop replied, that Whereas their Master the Viceroy was excommunicated he looked upon him as one out of the pale of the Church, and one without any power or authority to command him in the house of God, and so required them as they tendered the good of their souls to depart peaceably, and not to infringe the priviledges and immunity of the Church, by exercising in it any legal act of secular power and command; and that he would not go out of the Church, unless, they durst take him and the Sacrament together. With this the head-officer named *Tiroll*, stood up and notified unto him an order in the Kings name to apprehend his person in what place soever he should find him, and to guard him to the Port of *St. John de Ulhua*, and there to deliver him to whom

whom by further order he should be directed, there to be shipped for *Spain* as a Traitor to the Kings crown, a troubler of the common peace, and author and mover of sedition in the Common-wealth. The Arch-bishop smiling upon *Tiroll* answered him; Thy master useth too high terms and words, which do better agree unto himself; for I know no mutiny or sedition like to trouble the Common-wealth, unless it be by his and *Don Pedro Mexia* his oppressing of the poor. And as for thy guarding me to *St. John de Ulhua*, I conjure thee by Jesus Christ, whom thou knowest I hold in my hands, not to use here any violence in Gods house, from whose Altar I am resolved not to depart; take heed God punish thee not as he did *Jeroboam*, for stretching forth his hand at the Altar against the Prophet, let his withered hand remind thee of thy duty. But *Tiroll* suffered him not to squander away the time and travel it out with further preaching, but called to the Altar a Priest, whom he had brought for that purpose, and commanded him in the Kings name to take the Sacrament out of the Arch-bishops hand; which the Priest doing, the Arch-bishop unvested himself of his Pontificals, and (though with many repetitions of the Churches immunity) yielded himself unto *Tiroll*, and taking his leave of all his Prebends, requiring them to be witnesses of what had been done, he went prisoner to *St. John de Ulhua*, where he was delivered to the custody of the Governour of the Castle, and not many days after was sent in a ship prepared for that purpose to *Spain* to the King and Council with a full charge of all his carriages and misdemeanours. Some of the City of *Mexico* in private began to talk strangely again the Viceroy, and to stomach the banishment of their Arch-bishop, because he had stood out against so high a power in defence of the poor and oppressed, and these their private grudges they soon vented in publick with bold and arrogant speeches against *Don Pedro Mexia*, and the Viceroy, being set on and encouraged by the Priests and Prebends, who it seems had sworn blind obedience to their Arch-Prelate, and therewith thought they could dispense
with

with their consciences in their obedience and duty to their Magistrate. Thus did those Incendiaries for a fortnight together blow the fire of sedition and rebellion, especially amongst the inferiour sort of people and the Criolians or native Spaniards, and the Indians and Mulatto's, who they knew brooked not the severe and rigorous justice and judgment of the Viceroy, no nor any Government that was appointed over them from Spain; until at the fortnights end, *Tiroll* returned from *St. John de Ulbua*; and then began the spite and malice of all the malecontents to break out, then began a fire of mutiny to be kindled, which was thought would have consumed and buried in ashes that great and famous City. *Tiroll* was not a little jealous of what mischief the common rabble intended against him, and so kept close, not daring to walk the streets; yet his occasions inviting him to the Viceroy his Palace, ventured himself in a Coach with drawn curtains, which yet could not blind the eyes of the spiteful and malicious malecontents, who had notice that he was in the Coach, and before he could get to the Market place, three or four boys began to cry out *Judas, Judas, alla va Judas*, there goeth *Judas*, that laid his hands upon Christs Vicar; others joyned with them saying, *aborquemos a este Judas*, let us hang up this *Judas*; the number of boys yet increased, crying aloud and boldly after the Coach, *Muera el Vellaco descomulgado la muerte de Judas, muera el picaro, muera el perro*, let this excommunicated rogue and dog die the death of *Judas*; the Coachman lashed the mules, the Coach posted, the boys hastened after with stones and dirt, the number increased so, that before *Tiroll* could get through two streets only, there were risen above two hundred boyes, of Spaniards, Indians Black-moors, Mulatto's. With much ado *Tiroll* got to the Viceroy his Palace, posting for his life, and his first care was to with the Porters to shut all the Palace gates: for he was fearful of what presently happened, of a more general insurrection and uproar. For no sooner was he got into the Viceroy his house, and the gates shut up, but there were gathered to the Market-place (as I was credibly informed

formed by those that saw and observed diligently that days trouble) above two thousand people, all of inferiour rank and quality; and yet the number still increased till they were judged to be about six or seven thousand. They all cryed out for *Tiroll* the *Judas*, sparing neither stones nor dirt which they did sling at the Palace windows,

The Viceroy sent a message to them desiring them to be quiet, and to betake themselves to their houses, certifying them that *Tiroll* was not in his palace, but escaped out of a back-door. The rude multitude would not be satisfied with this, being now set on by two or three Priests who were joyned with them, and so they began more violently to batter the Palace gates and walls, having brought pikes and halberds, and long poles; others had got a few Pistols and birding Pieces, wherewith they shot, not caring whom they killed or wounded in the Palace. It was wonderful to see that none of the better sort, none of the Judges, no high Justice, no inferiour officers durst or would come out to suppress the multitude, or to assist the Viceroy being in so great danger; nay I was told by some shopkeepers who lived in the market-place, that they made a laughing business of it, and the people that passed by went smiling and saying, Let the boys and youngsters alone, they will right our wrongs, they will find out before they have done, both *Tiroll* and *Mexia* and him that protects them, meaning the Viceroy; but amongst them was much noted one Priest, name *Salazar*, who spent much shot and bullets, and more his spirits in runing about to spie some place of advantage, which he might sooner batter down. They found it seems the Prison-doors easier to open, or else with help within they opened them, and let out all the malefactors, who joyned with them to assault the Palace. The Viceroy seeing no help came to him from the City, from his friends, from the Judges of the Chancery, from the Kings high Justices, nor other officers for the peace, went up to the *Zoties* of his Palace with his Guard and Servants that attended on him and set up the Royal Standard, and caused a Trumpet to be sounded to call the
City

City to aid and assist their King. But this prevailed not, none stirred, all the chief of the City kept within doors. And when the multitude saw the Royal Standard out, and heard the Kings name from the *Zoties*, they cryed out, and often repeated it, *Viva el Roy, muera el mal gobierno, muera los des comulgados*, that is to say, Our King live long, but let the evil government die, and perish, and let them die that are excommunicated. These words saved many of them from hanging afterwards, when the business, was tried and searched into by *Don Martin de Carrillo*. And with these words in their mouths they skirmished with them of the *Zoties* at least three hours, they above hurling down stones, and they beneath hurling up to them, and some shooting with a few Pistols and birding Pieces at one another: and mark that in all this bitter skirmish there was not a piece of Ordinance shot, for the Viceroy had none for the defence of his Palace or Person, neither had or hath that great City any for its strength and security, the *Spaniards* living fearless of the *Indians*, and (as they think) secure from being annoyed by any forain Nation. There were slain in about six hours in all that this tumult lasted, seven or eight beneath in the Market place, and one of the Viceroy his Guard and a Page in the *Zoties* above. The day drawing to an end, the multitude brought Pitch and fire, and first fired the Prison, then they set on fire part of the Palace, and burnt down the chief gate. This made some of the City, of the Gentry, and of the Judges to come out, lest the fire should prevail far upon the City, and to persuade the people to desist, and to quench the fire. Whilst the fire was quenching, many got into the Palace, some fell upon the Viceroy's stables, and there got part of his mules and horses rich furnitures, others began to fall upon some chests, others to tear down the hangings, but they were soon persuaded by the better sort of the City, to desist from spoil or robbery, lest by that they should be discovered; others searched about for *Don Pedro Mexia*, for *Tiroll* and the Viceroy. None of them could be found, having disguised themselves and so escaped. Whither *Don*

Pedro

Pedro Mexia, and *Tiroll* went, it could not be known in many days; but certain it was that the Viceroy disguised himself in a Franciscan habit, and so in company of a Fryer went through the multitude to the Cloister of the Franciscans, where he abode all that year, (and there I saw him the year after) not daring to come out, till he had informed the King and Council of *Spain*, with what had happened, and of the danger himself and the City was in, if not timely prevented. The King and Council of *Spain* took the business into consideration, and looked upon it as a warning-piece, to a further mutiny and rebellion, and an example to other parts of *America* to follow upon any such like occasion, if some punishment were not inflicted upon the chief offenders. Wherefore the year following 1625. which was when I went to those parts, the King sent a new Viceroy the Marquess of *Serralvo* to govern in the place of the Count of *Gelves*, and especially to aid and assist *Don Martin de Carrillo*, a Priest and Inquisitor of the Inquisition of *Valladolid*, who was sent with large Commission and authority to examine the foresaid tumult and mutiny, and to judge all offenders that should be found in it, yea and to hang up such as should deserve death. I was at *Mexico* in the best time of the trial, and had intelligence from *Don Martin de Carrillo* his own Ghostly father, a Dominican Fryer, of the chief passages in the examination of the business; and the result was, that if Justice should have been executed rightly, most of the prime of *Mexico* would have suffered, for not coming in to the Royal Standard, when called by the sound of the Trumpet, the Judges some were put out of their places, though they answered that they durst not stir out, for that they were informed that all the City would have risen against them if they had appeared in publick. The chief actors were found to be the *Criolians* or Natives of the Country, who do hate the *Spanish* Government, and all such as come from *Spain*; and reason they have for it, for by them they are much oppressed, as I have before observed, and are and will be always watching any opportunity to free themselves from the *Spanish* yolk. But

the chief fomenters of the mutiny were found to be the Bishops party the Priests; and so had not *Salazar* and three more of them fled, they had certainly been sent to the Gallies of *Spain* for Gally-slaves; this judgment was published against them. There were not above three or four hanged of so many thousands, and their condemnation was for things which they had stolen out of the Viceroy's Palace. And because further enquiry into the rebellion would have brought in at least half the City either for actors, or counsellors, or fomenters, the King was well advised to grant a general pardon. The Archbishops proceedings were more disliked in the Court of *Spain*, than the Viceroy's, and he was long without any preferment, though at last that there might be no exceptions taken by his party, nor cause given for the further stirring the embers to a greater combustion, the Council thought fit to honour him in those parts where he was born; and to make him Bishop of *Zamora*, a small Bishoprick in *Castile*; so that his wings were clipt, and from an Archbishop he came to be but a Bishop, and from threescore thousand Crowns yearly rent he fell to four or five thousand only a year. The Count of *Gelves* was also sent to *Spain*, and well entertained in the Court, and therein made Master of the Kings horse, which in *Spain* is a Noblemans preferment.

And this History shewing the state and condition of *Mexico*, when I travelled to those parts I have willingly set down, that the Reader may by it be furnished with better observations than myself (who am but a Neophyte) am able to deduct. Somewhat might be observed from the Viceroy's covetousness; which doubtless in all is a great sin, for as *Paul* well adviseth, 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. *The love of money is the root of all evil*, but much more to be condemned in a Prince or Governour; whom it may blind in the exercise of Justice and Judgment, and harden those tender bowels (which ought to be in him) of a father and shepherd to his flock and children. We may yet from this Viceroy's practice and example against a chief head of the *Romish* Church, discover that error of the Priests and Jesuits of
England,

England, who perswaded the people here that no temporal Magistrate hath power over them, and that to lay hands on them in wrath and anger (being as they say Consecrated to God and his Altar) is *ipso facto* a deep excommunication; whereas we see the contrary in this Viceroy a member of the Church of *Rome*, and yet exercising his temporal power against an Arch-bishop, and by *Tiroll* taking him from the Church, and as his prisoner sending him with just wrath and anger to a forain and remote place of banishment. But lastly, it is my desire that the High and Honourable Court of Parliament which now is sitting for the good of this Kingdom, and for the good of it hath already pulled down the Hierarchy of such Prelates and Arch-prelates, would look upon the trouble and uproar which the keys of the Church in the hand of an undiscreeet Priest brought upon that City of *Mexico*. Certainly as the strength of the Church well settled and governed with subordination to the Magistrate, is likewise the strength of the Common-wealth so on the other side the power of the keys in the Clergies hand, to cast out what incestuous *Corinthian* they please, without the rest of the *Corinthians* consent, 1 Cor. 5. 4, 5. may prove dangerous and troublesome to the Common-weal and good. For if the Clergy may use by it self, without the overseeing eye of the Magistrates Commissioners, the power of the keys, who shall be free from their censures that any way will oppose them? The poor and ignorant will not only be the object of their censures; but the rich, and wise, and noble, Ruler and Magistrate will also come under their censures; wherein I find a Minister may then as a Pope encroach upon the highest crown of an Emperour. Nay certainly in *England* the thoughts of some such aspiring Ministers have been higher than the thoughts of this Archbishop of *Mexico* over a Viceroy, the conceit of their power with the Keys have hoisted them above their Prince, for I have heard one of them say, he knew not but that by the power of the keys he might as well excommunicate the King as any other private person. This conceit hath made the Pope fear no earthly Prince, Emperour, Ruler or Magistrate; nay this hath

made him to be feared, and respected, and honoured by Kings and Princes; and why may not the same power in the hands of a Protestant Clergy, make the meanest and the highest to fear and dread them? But some will say, the Word of God being the touchstone wherewith they are to try what points may be the subjects of their censures, by such a light and guidance they are not like to err. But they then being themselves the Judges of the sense and meaning of the Word, who shall oppose their judgment, and their ensuing censures? What if to their tryal and judgment they shall bring any Law enacted by a High Court of Parliament, and shall judge it not according to the Word of God, and so press it to the peoples consciences; threatening with their censures such as shall obey it? in such a case how may the power of the keys unlock and open a door to the people of rebellion against their lawful Magistrates? O what dangers may betal a Common-wealth, when thus the Clergy shall stand over poor and rich, subject and magistrate, as *Peters* statue at *Rome*, with Cross-keys in his hand? What a rebellion did the Arch-bishop of *Mexico* cause by excommunicating *Don Pedro Mexia* first, and then the Viceroy? and how did the people fear his keys more than the Viceroy's temporal power and authority, siding with him against such as he had excommunicated? What troubles did that Doctor *Smith* Bishop of *Chalcedon* bring among the Papists, small and great ones, not long ago here in *England*, laying upon them by the power of the Keys a censure of Excommunication, if they confessed to, or did entertain and hear the Mass of any, that had not derived their authority from him? then were they in open rebellion one against another; the secular Priests against the Monks, Fryers, and Jesuits, and the Laity all troubled, some siding with one, and some with another, till Doctor *Smith* having thus kindled the fire was fain to leave it burning, and to betake himself to *Paris*, and from thence to foment the dissension, which with the power of the Keys he had caused here.

O surely the Church so far is a good Mother, as it allows a Magistrate to be a Father. And great comfort have those that

that live within the pale of the Church, to know that they have the Magistrate to fly unto in their pressures and discomforts.

I must ingenuously confess that one main point that brought me from the Church of *Rome*, was the too too great power of the Keys in the Popes, Bishops, and Priests hands, who studying more self Policy, than common Policy, look upon the people, and with their power deal with them more as their subjects, than as political Members in a Common-wealth, rending and tearing them dayly by their censures from that common and Political body to which they belong, without any hopes of care to be had of them by their Magistrate and Political head and Governour. And I hope I shall not have fled from Antichrist who exalteth himself as head of the Church, and from that power hath his influence over all States and Political Heads and Rulers; to find in a Protestant Church any of his spirit, making a distinction of a spiritual and temporal head, forgetting the only head Christ Jesus; which were it once granted, as the spirit is more noble than the body, so would the inference soon be made, that they that are over the spirit, are higher in power than they that are over the body; which conclusion would soon bring *Mexico's* troubles among Protestants. Experience in all my travels by sea and land, in most parts of *Europe* and of *America*, hath ever taught me, that where the Clergy hath been too much exalted and enjoyed power over the people, there the Common-wealth hath soon fallen into heavy pressures and troubles. And let not this my observation seem strange as coming from a Minister, for I have learned from Christ, *Matth. 23. 25, 26, 27.* *That the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion, and they that are great exercise authority, But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.*

I hope the High Court of Parliament will so settle the Church and State here, that this shall not fear any further troubles from that; and that we who have our portion from

the one, may be Ministers and Servants under the Commissioners of the other. And thus largely I have described the State and condition of *Mexico* in the time of *Montezuma*, and since his death the manner and proportion of it with the troubled condition I found it in when I went thither, by reason of a mutiny and rebellion caused by an Arch-bishop the year before. I shall now come out of *Mexico*, and present unto you the places most remarkable about it; and from thence the several parts and Countries of *America*, before I betake my self to the journey which I made from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* lying nine hundred *English* miles Southward, and from thence yet to *Costarica*, and *Nicoya*, being nine hundred miles further toward the South.

CHAP. XIII.

Shewing the several parts of this new World of America; and the places of note about the famous City of Mexico.

ALthough my travels by Sea and Land in *America* were not above three or four thousand miles (which is not the fifth part of it, if exactly compassed) yet for the better compleating of this my work; I thought fit to enlarge my self to a full division of the many and sundry parts thereof, here first in general; and hereafter more in particular of those parts wherein I lived twelve years, and of those which I more exactly noted and observed as I travelled and passed through them. The chief division therefore of this greatest part of the World, is twofold only, to wit, the *Mexican*, and the *Peruan* parts, which contain many great and sundry Provinces and Countreys, some as big as our whole Kingdom of England. But *Mexico* giving name to half *America*, is now called *Nova Hispania*, *new Spain*, from whence the Kings of *Spain* do style themselves *Hispaniarum Reges*. The *Mexican* part containeth chiefly the Northern Tract, and comprehendeth these Provinces hitherto known

known and discovered, to wit, *Mexico*, *Quivira*, *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia*, *Corterialis*, and *Estotilandia*. The compass of this part of *America* is thirteen thousands miles. The *Peruan* part containeth all the Southern Tract, and is tyed to the *Mexican* by the *Isthmus* or strait of *Darien*, being no more than 17, or as others say, in the narrowest place but 12 miles broad from the North to the South Sea. And many have mentioned to the Council of *Spain* the cutting of a Navigable Channel through this small *Isthmus*, so to shorten the Voyage to *China*, and the *Moluccoes*. But the Kings of *Spain* have not as yet attempted to do it, some say lest in the work he should lose those few *Indians* that are left (would to God it were so that they were and had been so careful and tender of the poor *Indians* lives, more populous would that vast and spacious Country be at this day :) but others say he hath not attempted that great work, lest the passage by the Cape *Bona Esperanza*, Good-hope, being left off, those Seas might become a receptacle of Pirates. However this hath not been attempted by the *Spaniards*, they give not for reason any extraordinary great charge, for that would soon be recompensed with the speedy and easie conveying that way the Commodities from South to North Seas. This *Peruan* part of *America* containeth these Countries, or Kingdoms, to wit, *Castella aurea Guiana*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, *Chille*; and the compass of it is seventeen thousand miles. I shall not speak distinctly of all these parts, which better writers, and of more knowledge have before me discovered; and because some of them being out of the *Spaniards* reach and dominion, from whom I have received my best intelligence, I have from them had little notice of them, and experience, which indeed I intend to make my best guide in this my work. Therefore to return again to the *Mexican* part, and the Northern Tract; I shall fall again upon the first and chief member of that division, which I said was *Mexico*. This aboundeth with golden sanded rivers, in which are many Crocodiles (though not so big as those of *Egypt*) which the *Indian* people eat. It glorieth in the

mountains *Popochampeche*, and *Popocatepec*, which are of the same nature with *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*. Nay all the way South-wards as far as *Leon* in *Nicaragua*, there are many of these fiery Mountains. But *Popocatepec* is one of the chief of them, which signifieth a hill of smoak, for many times it casteth out smoak and fire; it standeth eight leagues from *Chololla*; the ascending up into it is very troublesome, and full of craggy rocks. When *Cortez* passed that way to *Mexico*, he sent ten *Spaniards* to view it, with many *Indians* to carry their victuals and to guide them in the way. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not go unto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes did much disturb their way. But yet two of them who seemed to be most hardy, and desirous to see strange things, went up to the top, because they would not return with a sleeveless answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellows behind them, proceeded forwards, and passed through that desert of ashes, and at length came under a great smoak very thick, and standing there a while, the darkness vanished partly away, and then appeared the Vulcan and concavity, which is about half a league in compass out of the which the air came rebounding with a very great noise, very shrill and whistling, so that the whole hill did tremble; it was like unto an oven where glass is made. The smoak and heat was so great that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to return by the way that they had ascended. But they were not gone far, when the Vulcan began to flash out flames of fire, ashes and embers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire, and if they had not chanced to find a rock, under which they shadowed themselves, undoubtedly they had there been burned. It is like unto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*, it is high and round, and never wanteth snow about some part of it. Before the coming of *Cortez* for ten years space it had left off expelling vapour or smoak; but in the year 1540. it began again to burn, and with the
horrible

horrible noise thereof, the people that dwelt four leagues from it were terrified; the ashes that proceeded then from it reached to *Tlaxcallan*, which standeth ten leagues distant from it; yea some affirm that it extended fifteen leagues distant, and burned the herbs in the gardens, the corn in the fields, and cloths that lay a drying. And many such hills and mountains doth this *Mexican* part of *America* or *new Spain* abound with. The limits of it are on the East, *Jucatan*, and the gulf of *Mexico*, on the West *Californio*, on the South the *Peruan* part. The Northern bounds are unknown, so that we cannot certainly avow this *America* to be continent, nor certainly affirm it to be an Island, distinguished from the old world. It was very populous before the arrival of the *Spaniards*, who in seventeen years slew six millions of them, roasting some, plucking out the eyes, cutting off the arms of others, and casting them living to be devoured of wild beasts. This chief Province of *America* named *Mexico*, is further subdivided into four parts, that is to say, *Themistitan*, *Nova Galicia*, *Mecoacan*, and *Gauftachan*. *Themistitan*, is the greatest and noblest of these four; for that it containeth six Cities, and of them one is *Mexico*, which giveth name to the half part of *America*, and is the seat of an Arch-bishop, and of the *Spanish* Viceroy, whose greatness therein I have before laid open; the second City is *La Puebla de los Angeles*, the City of Angels, the third *Villaruca*; the fourth *Antiquera*; the fifth *Mecioaca*; the sixth *Otopan*. But all these, excepting the two first, are but small places, named Cities formerly, for that the *Spaniards* thought to have made them Bishops seats, which they have not been able to perform, by reason that *Mexico* and the City of *Angels* hath drawn to them the chief trading, and most of the Inhabitants of the other four. Especially the resort to *Mexico* is so great, that all the Towns about (which formerly were of *Indians*) are now inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Mestizoes*. I may not omit about *Mexico* that famous place of *Chapultepec*, which in the Heathens times was the burying place of the
Egy-

Emperours; and now by the *Spaniards* is the Escorial of *America*, where the Viceroyes that dye are also interred. There is a sumptuous palace built with many fair Gardens and devices of waters, and ponds of fish, whither the Viceroy and the Gentry of *Mexico* do resort for their recreation. The riches here belonging to the Viceroyes Chappel, are thought to be worth above a million of crowns.

Tacuba is also a pleasant Town full of orchards and gardens, in the very way to *Chapultepec*. Southward is *Toluca*, rich also for trading, but above all much mentioned for the Bacon, which is the best of all those parts, and is transported far and near. West-ward is the Town called *La Piedad*, at the end of a Cawsey, whither the people much resort from *Mexico*, being drawn to the superstitious worship of a picture of *Mary* which hath been enriched by the chief of *Mexico* with many thousand pounds worth of gifts of chains, and crowns of gold.

But more Northwest-ward three leagues from *Mexico* is the pleasantest place of all that are about *Mexico*, called *La-Soledad*, and by others *el desierto*, the solitary or desert place and wilderness. Were all wildernesses like it, to live in a wilderness would be better than to live in a City. This hath been a device of poor Fryers named *discalced*, or barefooted *Carmelites*, who to make shew of their hypocritical and apparent godliness, and that whilst they would be thought to live like *Eremites*, retired from the world, they may draw the world unto them; they have built there a stately Cloister, which being upon a hill and among rocks makes it to be more admired. About the Cloister they have fashioned out many holes and caves in, under, and among the rocks, like *Eremites* lodgings, with a room to lie in, and an Oratory to pray in, with pictures, and Images, and rare devices for mortification, as disciplines of wire, rods of Iron, hair-cloths, girdles with sharp wire points to girdle about their bare flesh, and many such like toys which hang about their Oratories, to make people admire their mortified and holy lives. All these Eremtrical holes and caves
(which

(which are some ten in all) are within the bounds and compass of the Cloister, and among orchards and gardens full of fruits and flowers, which may take up two miles compass; and here among the rocks are many springs of water, which with the shade of the plantins and other trees, are most cool and pleasant to the Eremites; they have also the sweet smell of the rose and jazmin, which is a little flower, but the sweetest of all others; there is not any other flower to be found that is rare and exquisite in that Country, which is not in that wilderness to delight the senses of those mortified Eremites. They are weekly changed from the Cloister, and when their week is ended, others are sent, and they return unto their Cloister; they carry with them their bottles of wine, sweet-meats, and other provisions, as for fruits, the trees about do drop them into their mouths. It is wonderful to see the strange devices of fountains of water which are about the gardens; but much more strange and wonderful to see the resort of Coaches, and gallants, and Ladies and Citizens from *Mexico* thither, to walk and make merry in those desert pleasures, and to see those hypocrites, whom they look upon as living Saints, and so think nothing too good for them, to cherish them in their desert conflicts with Satan. None goes to them but carries some sweet-meats, or some other dainty dish to nourish and feed them withal; whose prayers they likewise earnestly solicit, leaving them great alms of money for their Masses; and above all offering to a picture in their Church, called our Lady of *Carmel*, treasures of diamonds, pearls, golden chains and crowns and gowns of cloth of gold and silver. Before this picture did hang in my time twenty lamps of silver; the worst of them being worth a hundred pound; truly Satan hath given unto them what he offered Christ in the desert, *All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*; all the dainties and of all the riches of *America* hath he given unto them in that their desert, for that they dayly fall down and worship him. In the way to this place there is another Town yet called *Tacubaya*, where is a rich Cloister of Franciscans, and also many gardens and orchards,

orchards, but above all much resorted to for the musick in that Church, wherein the Fryers have made the *Indians* so dexterous and skilful, that they dare compare with the Cathedral Church of *Mexico*. These were the chief places of mine and my friends resort, whilst I abode about *Mexico*, which I found to be most worth a History, and so thought fit here to insert them, and so pass on to the other parts or Provinces of *Mexico*.

Next to this is the Province of *Guastachan*, which lieth in the road from *St. John de Ulhua* to *Mexico*, which is not so poor as *Heylyn* maketh it, for that now it doth abound with many rich farms of Sugar, and of *Cochinil*, and reacheth as far as the Valley of *Guaxaca* which is a most rich place. The chief City of this Province was wont to be *Tlaxcallan*, whereof I have formerly spoken; but now the City of *Guaxaca* which is a Bishops seat, and *Xalappa* which is also of late made a Bishops seat, makes it more famous. It glorieth also in *Villa Rica* a Port Town very wealthy, because all the traffick betwixt the Old and New *Spains* do pass through it. The *Spaniards* have in it two rich Colonies, called *Pamico*, and *St. James* in the valleys. The third Province of *Mexico* is called *Mechoacan*, which containeth in circuit fourscore leagues. It is also, an exceeding rich country, abounding in Mulberry trees, silk, honey, wax, black-amber, works of divers coloured feathers, most rich, rare and exquisite, and such sort of fish, that from thence it took its name, *Mechuoucan*, which signifieth a place of fishing.

The language of the *Indians* is most elegant and copious, and they tall, strong, active, and of very good wits, as may be seen in all their works, but especially in those of feathers, which are so curious, that they are presented for rich presents to the King and Nobles of *Spain*. The chief City of this Province is *Valladolid* a Bishops seat; and the best Towns are *Sinsonte*, which was the residence of the Kings of this Country. There is also *Paseuar* and *Colima*, very great Towns inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. There are also two good Heavens, called *St.*

Anthony,

Anthony, and *Saint James*, or *Santjago*. This country of *Mechoacan* was almost as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, when *Cortez* conquered those parts. The King that was then of *Mechoacan* was called *Caconzin*, who was a great friend unto *Cortez*, and a servitor to the *Spaniards*, and willingly yielded himself as vassal to the King of *Spain*; yet such was the cruelty of *Don Nuno de Guzman*, the first Ruler and President of the Chancery of *Mexico* after the conquest, that understanding he was put out of his office, he took his journey against the *Teuchichimacas*, and carried in his company five hundred *Spaniards*, with whom, and six thousand *Indians* which by force he took out of *Mechoacan*, he conquered *Xalisco* which is now called the *New Galicia*. And as for this purpose he passed through *Mechoacan*, he took prisoner the King *Caconzin* (who was quiet and peaceable and stirred not against him) and took from him ten thousand marks of plate, and much gold and other treasure, and afterwards burned him, and many other *Indian* Gentlemen and principal persons of that Kingdom, because they should not complain, saying, that a dead dog biteth not. They were in this Kingdom as superstitious and idolatrous as in the rest of *America*. No divorcement was permitted amongst them, except the party made a solemn oath, that they looked not the one on the other sted-fastly, and directly at the time of their marriage. In the burying likewise of their Kings they were superstitious, cruel; and Idolatrous. When any King of *Mechoacan* happened to be brought to such extremity of sickness that hope of life was past, then did he name and appoint which of his sons should inherit the estate and Crown, and being known, the new King or Heir presently sent for all the Governours, Captains, and valiant Soldiers, who had any office or charge, to come unto the burial of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitor, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certain, then came all degrees of estates, and did bring their presents to the new King for the approbation of his Kingdom:
But

But if the King were not thoroughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut up, and none permitted to enter, and if he were thoroughly dead, then began a general cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands. This being done the carcase was washed with sweet waters, and then a fine shirt put upon him, and a pair of shooes made of Deer-skin put on his feet, and about his ankles were tied balls of gold, about the wrists of his hands were put bracelets of Turquoises and of gold likewise; about his neck they did hang collars of precious stones, and also of gold, and rings in his ears, with a great Turquoise in his nether lip. Then his body was laid upon a large Bier whereon was placed a good bed under him; on his one side lay a bow with a quiver of arrows, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine mantles of his own stature or bigness, with a great tuff of fine feathers, shooes upon his feet, with bracelets and a collar of gold. While this was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and women, which should be slain for to accompany him into hell. These wretches that were to be slain, were first banqueted and filled with drink, because they should receive their death with less pain. The new King did appoint those who should die for to serve the King his father; and many of those simple souls esteemed that death so odious for a thing of immortal glory. First six Gentlewomen of noble birth were appointed to die; the one to have the office of keeper of his jewels, which he was wont to wear; another for the office of cup-bearer; another to give him water with a Bason and Ewer; another to give him always the Urinal; another to be his Cook; and another to serve for Landress. They slew also many women-slaves, and free-maidens for to attend upon the Gentlewomen, and moreover one of every occupation within the City. When all these that were appointed to die were washed, and their bellies full with meat and drink, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of sweet flowers upon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the Bier, where.

whereon the dead King was carried; some went playing on instruments made of Snail-shells, and others played upon bones and shells of Sea-Tortise, others went whistling, and the most part weeping. The Sons of the dead King and other Noble-men carried upon their shoulders the Bier where the Corps lay, and proceeded with an easie pace towards the Temple of the God called *Caricaveri*; his kinsmen went round about the Bier singing a sorrowful song. The officers and household-servants of the Court, with other Magistrates and Rulers of Justice bare the Standards and divers other Arms. And about midnight they departed in the order aforesaid out of the Kings Palace with great light of fire-brands, and with a heavy noise of their trumpets and drums. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corps passed, attended to make clean the street. And when they were come to the Temple, they went four times round about a great fire which was prepared of Pine-tree to burn the dead body. Then the Bier was laid upon the fire, and in the mean while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club those which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them four and four, as they were apparelled, behind the Temple. The next day in the morning the ashes, bones and jewels were gathered and laid upon a rich mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Priests attended to bless those devilish reliques, whereof they made a dow or paste, and thereof an Image, which was apparelled like a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of jewels that the dead King was wont to wear, so that it seemed a gallant Idol. At the foot of the Temple stairs they opened a grave ready made, which was square, large, two fathom deep, it was also hung with new mats round about, and a fair bed therein, in the which one of the Priests placed the Idol made of ashes with his eyes towards the East-part, and did hang round about the walls Targets of gold and silver, with bows and arrows, and many gallant tufts of Fethers; with earthen vessels, as pots, dishes, and platters, so that the grave was filled up with household-stuffs chests covered with Leather, Apparel, Jewels, Meat,

Meat, Drink and Armour. This done, the grave was shut up and made sure with beams, boards, and floored with earth on the top. All those Gentlemen who had served or touched any thing in the burial, washed themselves and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and having dined they wiped their hands upon certain locks of Cotton-wool, hanging down their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to ask for Drink. This Ceremony lasted five days, and in all that time no Fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any Corn was ground, or Market kept, nor durst any go out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of their King. And this was the superstitious manner of burying the Kings of *Mechoacan*. This people did Punish adultery most rigorously; for to commit it was death as well for the man as the woman. But if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers, and after that he was hanged, and his body burned; and for this offence was no pardon, either for man or woman. But for avoiding of adultery they did permit other common women, but no publick and ordinary stews. Now the *Indians* of *Mechoacan* are greatly taken with the Popish devices, and are strong in that Religion, as any part of *America*.

The fourth and last Province of the Country or Empire of *Mexico*, is called *Galicia nova*, and is watered with two very great rivers, the one named *Piafle*, and the other *San Sebastian*. This Province gloryeth in many great Towns of *Indians*; but especially in six, inhabited both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*; the first and chiefest is *Xalisco*, taken by *Nunio de Guzman* 1530. when he fled from *Mexico* in a rage, and took prisoner and burned the King of *Mechoacan*. The second is *Gadalaia*. The third *Coarum*. The fourth *Compostella*. The fifth *St. Esprit*. The sixth *Capala*, which is now is called *Nova Mexico*, *New Mexico*. And here it is that the *Spaniards* are daily warring against the *Indians* which live Northward, and are not as yet reduced

reduced nor brought under the *Spanish* yolk and government. They are valiant *Indians*, and hold the *Spaniards* hard to do it; and have great advantage against them in the rocks and mountains, where they abide and cut off many *Spaniards*. Their chief weapons are but bows and arrows, and yet with them from the thick Woods, hills, and rocks they annoy and offend the *Spaniards* exceedingly. I have heard some *Spaniards* say that they flie and climb up the rocks like Goats; and when they draw nigh unto them, then they cry out with a hideous noise shooting their arrows at them, and in an instant are departed and fled unto another rock. The reason why the *Spaniards* are so earnest to pursue and conquer these *Indians* more than many others of *America*, which as yet are not brought in subjection to the *Spaniards*, is for the many mines of silver and treasure of gold which they know to be there. They have got already sure possession of part of these riches in the Mines, called *St. Lewis Sacatecas*, from whence they send all the silver that is coyned in the Mint-houses of *Mexico* and the City of *Angels*, and every year besides to *Spain* in silver wedges at least six Millions. But the further the *Spaniards* go to the North, still more riches they discover; and fain would they subdue all those Northern parts (as I have heard them say) lest our *English* from *Virginia*, and their other plantations, get in before them. I have heard them wonder that our *English* enter no further into the main land; surely say they, either they fear the *Indians*, or else with a little paultry Tobacco they have as much as will maintain them in laziness. Certainly they intend to conquer through those heathenish *Indians*, until by land they come to *Florida* and *Virginia*, (for so they boast) if they be not met with by some of our Northern Nations of *Europe*, who may better keep them off than those poor *Indians*, and may do God greater and better service with those rich Mines, than the *Spaniards* hitherto have done.

Thus having spoken somewhat of the four Provinces of *Mexico*, which was the first Member of the division,

M

Mexican

Mexican and *Peruan*; Now I shall briefly say somewhat further of three more Countries belonging to the *Mexican* or Northern Tract as opposite to the *Peruan*, omitting *Florida*, *Virginia*, *Norumbega*, *Nova Francia Corterialis* and *Estotilandia*, because I will not write as many do by relation and hearsay, but by more sure intelligence, insight and experience. In my first division next to *Mexico*, I placed *Quivira*, *Jucatan*, and *Nicaragua*; of these three therefore I shall say a little, and then somewhat of the *Peruan* part. *Quivira* is seated on the most Western part of *America*, just over against *Tartary*, from whence being not much distant, some suppose that the Inhabitants first came into this new world. And indeed the *Indians* of *America* in many things seem to be of the race and progeny of the *Tartars*, in that *Quivira* and all the West-side of the Country towards *Asia* is far more populous than the East towards *Europe*, which sheweth these parts to have been first inhabited. Secondly, their uncivility, and barbarous properties tell us that they are most like the *Tartars* of any. Thirdly, the West-side of *America* if it be not continent with *Tartary* is yet disjoyned but by a small straight. Fourthly, the people of *Quivira* nearest to *Tartary*, are said to follow the seasons and pasturing of their Cattle like the *Tartarians*. All this side of *America* is full of herbage, and enjoyeth a temperate air. The people are desirous of glass more than of gold; and in some places to this day are Cannibals. The chief riches of this Country are their Kine, which are to them as we say of our Ale to drunkards, Meat, Drink and Cloth, and more too. For the Hides yield them houses, or at least the coverings of them; their bones bodkins, their hair thred, their sinews ropes; their horns maws and bladders, vessels; their dung, fire, their Calve-skins, budgets to draw and keep water; their blood, drink; their flesh, meat.

There is thought to be some traffique from *China*, or *Cathaya*, hither to those parts, where as yet the *Spaniards* have not enter'd. For when *Vasquez de Coronado* conquered

quered some part of it, he saw in the further Sea certain ships, not of common making, which seemed to be well laden, and bare in their prows, Pelicans, which could not be conjectured to come from any Country, but one of these two. In *Quivira* there are but two Provinces known unto us, which are *Cibola*, and *Nova Albion*. *Cibola* lyeth on the East-side, whose chief City is of the same name, and denominates the whole Province. The chief Town next to *Cibola* is called *Totontaa*, which is temperate and pleasant, being situated upon a River so called. The third Town worth mentioning is called *Tinguez*, which was burnt by the *Spaniards*; who under the conduct of *Francisco Vasquez de Coronado* made this Province subject to the King of Spain, *An. Dom. 1540*. And since this Town of *Tinguez* hath been rebuilt and inhabited by the *Spaniards*; There is a goodly College of Jesuits, who only preach to the *Indians* of that Country. *Nova Albion* lyeth on the West-side towards *Tartary*, and is very little inhabited by the *Spaniards* who have found no wealth or riches there. Our ever Renowned and Noble Captain Sir *Francis Drake* discovered it, entered upon it, and he named it *Nova Albion*, because the King that then was, did willingly submit himself unto our Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Country abounds with fruits pleasing both to the eye and the Palate. The people are given to hospitality, but withal to witchcraft and adoration of devils. The bounds between this *Quivira* and Mexico Empire is *Mar Vermiglio*, or *Californio*. The third Kingdom belonging to the Mexican part and Northern Tract is *Jucatan*, which was first discovered by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, in the year 1517. It is called *Jucatan*, not as some have conceited from *Jochan* the son of *Heber*, who they think came out of the East, where the Scripture placeth him, *Gen. 12. 23.* to inhabit here, but from *Jucatan* which in the Indian tongue signifieth, what say you? for when the *Spaniards* at their first arriving in that Country did ask of the *Indians* the name of the place, the Savages not understanding what they meant, replied unto them *Jucatan*,

which is, what say you? wherupon the *Spaniards* named it, and ever since have called it *Yucatan*. The whole Country is at least 900 miles in circuit, and is a *Peninsula*. It is situate over against the Isle of *Cuba*; and is divided into three parts, first *Yucatan* it self, whose Cities of greatest worth, are *Campeche*, *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Simancas*, and one which for its greatness and beauty, they call *Caire*. This Country among the *Spaniards* is held to be poor; the chief commodities in it are hony, wax, hides, and some Sugar, but no Indigo, Cochinele nor Mines of silver; There are yet some drugs much esteemed of by the Apothecaries,, *Cana fistula*, *Zarzaparilla* especially; and great store of *Indian Maiz*. There is also abundance of good Wood and Timber fit for shipping, wherof the *Spaniards* do make very strong ships, which they use in their voyages to *Spain* and back again. In the year 1632. the *Indians* of this Country in many places of it were like to rebel against their *Spanish* Governour, who vexed them sorely, making them bring in to him their Fowls and Tutkies (wherof there is also great abundance) and their hony and wax (wherein he traded) at the rate and price which he pleased to set them, for his better advantage, which was such a disadvantage to them, that to enrich him they impoverished themselves; and so resolved to betake themselves to the Woods and mountains; where in a rebellious way they continued some months, until the *Franciscan Fryers*, who have there great power over them, reduced them back, and the Governour (lest he should quite lose that Country by a further rebellion) granted to them not only a general pardon in the Kings name, but for the future promised to use them more mildly and gently.

The second part of it is called *Guatemala*, (wherein I lived for the space of almost twelve years) whose Inhabitants have lost formerly half a million of their kinsmen and friends by the unmerciful dealing of the *Spaniards*; and yet for all the loss of so many thousands, there is no part of *America* more flourishing than this with great and populous *Indians* Towns. They may thank the Fryers who defend

send them daily against the *Spaniards*, and this yet for their own ends; for while the *Indians* flourish and increase, the *Fryers* purses flourish also and are filled. The Country is very fresh and plentiful. The chief Cities are *Guatemala*, *Cassuca*, and *Chiapa*, whereof I shall speak more largely hereafter. The third part of *Jucatan* is *Acaamil*, which is an Island over against *Guatemala*, which is now commonly called by the *Spaniards*, *Sta. Cruz*, whose chief Town is *Sta. Cruz*.

The fourth and last Country of the division of the *Mexican* part and Northern Tract of *America*, (which is under the *Spanish* Government, and my best knowledge and experience) is *Nicaragua*, which standeth South-east from *Mexico*, and above four hundred and fifty leagues from it. Yet it agreeth somewhat with *Mexico* in nature both of soil and Inhabitants. The people are of good stature, and of colour indifferent white. They had, before they received Christianity, a settled and politick form of Government. Only, as *Solon* appointed no Law for a mans killing of his father, so had this people none for the Murtherer of a King, both of them conceiting, that men were not so innatural, as to commit such crimes. A thief they judged not to death, but adjudged him to be a slave to that man whom he had robbed, till by his service he had made satisfaction, a course truly more merciful and not less just, than the loss of life.

This Country is so pleasing to the eye, and abounding in all things necessary, that the *Spaniards* call it *Mahomets* Paradise. Among other flourishing trees, here groweth one of that nature, that a man cannot touch any of its branches, but it withereth presently. It is as plentiful of Parrets, as our Country of *England* is of Crows; *Turkies*, *Fowls*, *Quails* and *Rabbits* are ordinary meat there. There are many populous *Indian* Towns (though not so many as about *Guatemala*) in this Country; and especially two Cities of *Spaniards*; the one *Leon*, a Bishops Seat, and the other *Granada*, which standeth upon a Lake of fresh water, which hath above three hundred miles in compass, and having no

intercourse with the Ocean, doth yet continually ebb and flow. But of this Country, and this City especially I shall say somewhat more, when I come to speak of my travelling through it.

Thus I have briefly touched upon the *Mexican* part, and so much of the Northern Tract as is under the King of *Spain* his Dominion, leaving more particulars, till I come to shew the order of my being in and journeying through some of these Countries. I will now likewise give you a glimpse of the Southern Tract, and *Peruan* part of *America*. Which containeth chiefly five great Countries or Kingdoms, some in whole, and others in part, subject to the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which are, first *Castella aurea*; secondly, *Gujana*; thirdly, *Peru*; fourthly, *Brafile*; fifthly, *Chille*. But I will not fill my History with what others have written of the four last named Countries, wherein I was not much; but what I could learn of *Peru*, I will briefly speak, and so come to the first, *Castella aurea*, through which I travelled. *Peru* is held to be yet more rich a Country than is *Mexico*; for although it hath not the conveniency of traffique by the North-Sea, which *Mexico* hath, but doth send the Commodities in it to *Panama*, and from thence transports them either over the straight *Isthmus*, or by the River *Chiagree* to *Portabel* upon the North Sea; yet the Country is far richer than *Mexico*, by reason of the more abundance of Mines of silver which are in it. The mountains named *Potosi* are thought to be of no other metal, which the King of *Spain* will not have to be opened till they have exhausted those which are already discovered and digged, and have found the *Spaniards* work enough, and yielded them treasure enough ever since they first conquered those parts. The soil is very fruitful of all such fruits as are found in *Spain*. The Olives are bigger than those of *Spain*, the oil sweeter and clearer. The Grapes yield also a wine far stronger than any of *Spain*, and there is much made by reason it cannot conveniently be brought from *Spain*. There is likewise Wheat in great store, and all this fruitful soil lyeth low under high Mountains

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tains which divide betwixt *Indians* not as yet conquered and *Brasile*. But those Mountains are a great help unto those pleasant Valleys with the waters that fall from them, for in all those parts inhabited by the *Spaniards* towards the South-Sea, it is most certain and most observable, that it never raineth, insomuch that the houses are uncovered on the tops, and only mats laid over them to keep off the dust, and yet is this Country, what with the waters that fall from the Mountains, what with the morning and evening dews, as fruitful and plentiful as any Country in the World. The chief City is called *Lima*, where there is a Viceroy and a Court of Chancery, and an Arch-bishop. It hath a Port some two miles from it named *Callan*; where lie the ships that convey yearly the treasure of that Kingdom to *Panama*. There lie also other ships which traffique to the *East-Indies*, and to all the Coasts of *Guatemala*, and to *Acapulco* the Southern Haven of *Mexico*. The Port of *Callan* is not so strong as the great, nay inestimable wealth that is commonly in it and in the City of *Lima* should require, for I have heard many *Spaniards* say, that in the year 1620. a few ships of *Hollanders* (as some say) or of *English* (as others affirm) appeared before the Haven waiting for the ships that were to convey the Kings revenue to *Panama*, and hearing that they were departed (though by a false report) followed them, and so forsook the attempting to take the *Callan*; which certainly had they manly attempted, they had taken it; and in it the greatest treasure that in any one part of the world could have been found. But the *Spaniards* seldom see thereabout forain ships, and so live more carelessly in securing or strengthening that Coast. Though *Peru* be thus rich in fruits and Mines, yet *Chille* far exceedeth it in gold; which eggeth the *Spaniards* to a constant and continual war with the Inhabitants, which are a strong, warlike, and most valiant people. They are grown as skilful in the use of weapons, swords, pistols and musquets as the *Spaniards*, and have taken many *Spaniards*, men and women prisoners; and of the *Spanish* women have had so many children, call'd *Mestizoes*, that by

them (who have proved most valiant) they have much increased both their strength and their skill. They hold the *Spaniards* hard to it, and the war is become the most dangerous of any the *Spaniards* have; insomuch that the Council of *Spain* doth pick out from *Flanders* and *Italy*, the best soldiers to send them thither. And a Captain that hath served long, well and faithfully in *Flanders*, by way of credit and promotion is sent to the Wars of *Chille*, to fight for that great treasure of gold, which certainly is there. The *Spaniards* have in it three fair Cities; the *Conception* (which is a Bishops Seat) and *Santjago*, and *Valdivia*. This last so named from one *Valdivia*, who was Governour of it, and the first cause and author of those Wars.

This man was so extraordinary covetous of the gold of that Country, that he would not let the *Indians* possess or enjoy any of it themselves, but did vex them, whip, and beat, yea and kill some of them, because they brought him not enough, and imployed them daily in seeking it out for him, charging them with a tax and imposition of so much a day: which the *Indians* not being able to perform, nor to satisfy an unsatisfiable mind and greedy covetousness, resolved to rebel, but so that first they would fill and satisfy his heart with gold so that he should never more covet after that yellow and glittering metal. Wherefore they joynd and combined themselves together in a warlike posture, and took some quantity of gold and melted it, and with it resolutely came upon *Valdivia*, the Governour, saying, O *Valdivia* we see thou hast a greedy and unsatiable mind and desire after our gold; we have not been able to satisfy thee with it hitherto; but now we have devised a way to satiate this thy greedy covetousness; here is now enough, drink thy full of it; and with these words they took him and poured the melted gold down his throat, wherewith he died, nevermore coveting after that bright and shining dross, and naming with his name and death that City of *Valdivia*, and with his covetousness leaving a rebellion which hath continued to a cruel and bloody War unto this day.

Guiana and *Brasile* I shall omit to speak of, not having been in any part of them. *Brasile* is little talked of by the *Spaniards*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, and now part of it to the high and mighty States of the *Netherlands*, who will better satisfy by their Histories, and acquaint *Europe* with the riches that are in it.

I return unto the first part mentioned by me in the Southern and *Peruan* Tract, which was said to be *Castella aurea*, golden *Castile*, so called for the abundance of gold that is found in it. This containeth the Northern part of *Peruana*, part of the *Isthmus*, which runneth between the North and South-Sea. Besides the gold in it, it is admirably stored with Silver, Spices, Pearls, and medicinal Herbs. It is divided into four Provinces. The first is called *Castella del oro*; the second, *Nova Andaluzia*; the third, *Nova Granada*; the fourth, *Carthagena*. *Castella del oro* is situated in the very *Isthmus*, and is not very populous by reason of the unhealthfulness of the air, and noisome savour of the standing Pools. The chief places belonging to the *Spaniards*, are first *Theonimay*, or *Nombre de Dios* on the East; the second which is six leagues from *Nombre de Dios* is *Portabel*, now chiefly inhabited by the *Spaniards* and *Mulattoes*, and *Blackmoors*, and *Nombre de Dios* almost utterly forsaken by reason of its unhealthfulness. The ships which were wont to anchor in *Nombre de Dios*, and there to take in the Kings treasure, which is yearly brought from *Pern* to *Panama*, and from thence to the North-Sea, now harbour themselves in *Portabel*, which signifieth *Porto bello*, a fair and goodly Haven, for so indeed it is, and well fortified at the entrance with three Castles, which can reach and command one another. The third and chief place belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Castella del oro* is *Panama*, which is on the west side and upon the South-Sea. This City and *Nombre de Dios* were both built by *Didacus de Niquesa*. And *Nombre de Dios* was so called, because *Niquesa* having been crossed with many mischances and misadventures at Sea, when he came to this place greatly rejoiced, and had his men now

go on shore in *Nombre de Dios*, in the name of God. But as I have before observed, the air being here unhealthy, the King of *Spain* in the year 1514 commanded the houses of *Nombre de Dios* to be pulled down, and to be rebuilt in a more healthy and convenient place: which was performed by *Peter Arias* in *Portabel*. But being now upon *Nombre de Dios*, I should wrong my Country, if I should not set out to the publick view the worth of her people shewed upon this place, and to this day talked on and admired by the *Spaniards*, who do not only remember *Sir Francis Drake*, and teach their children to dread and fear even his name for his attempts upon *Carthagena* and all the Coast about, and especially upon *Nombre de Dios*, and from it marching as far as the great Mountain called *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*: but furthermore keep alive amongst them (and in this my History it shall not die) the name of one of *Sir Francis Drake* his followers and Captains named *John Oxenham*, whose attempt on this Coast was resolute and wonderful.

This noble and gallant Gentleman arriving with three-score and ten soldiers in his company as resolute as himself, a little above this Town of *Nombre de Dios*, drew a land his ship, and covering it with boughs, marched over the land with his Company guided by *Blackmoors*, until he came to a river, where he cut down wood, made him a Pinnacle, entred the South-sea, went to the Island of Pearls, where he lay ten days waiting for a prize, which happily he got (though not so happily after kept it) for from that Island he set upon two *Spanish* ships, and finding them unable to fight, he speedily made them yield, and intercepted in them threescore thousand pound weight of gold, and two hundred thousand pound weight in bars or wedges of silver, and returned safely again to the main land. And though by reason of a mutiny made by his own Company he neither returned to his country, nor to his hidden ship; yet was it such a strange adventure as is not to be forgotten, in that the like was never by any other attempted, and by the *Spaniards* is to this day with much admiration recorded.

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Much part of this *Castella aurea* as yet is not subdued by the *Spaniards*, and so doubtless a great treasure lieth hid in it for that people and nation whose thoughts shall aspire to find it out. In the year 1637. when I chanced to be in *Panama* returning homewards to my Country, there came thither some twenty *Indians*, Barbarians, by way of peace to treat with the President of the Chancery concerning their yielding up themselves to the government of the King of *Spain*. But as I was informed afterwards at *Carthagena*, nothing was concluded upon, for that the *Spaniards* dare not trust those *Indians*, whom they have found to have rebelled often against them for their hard usage and carriage towards them. These *Indians* which then I saw were very proper, tall, and lusty men, and well complexioned; and among them one of as red a hair as any our nation can shew; they had bobs of gold in their ears, and some of them little pieces of gold made like a half moon hanging upon their nether lips, which argues store of that treasure to be amongst them. Unto this Country is joyning *Nova Andaluzia*, which hath on the North side *Castella del oro*, and on the South *Peru*: The best Cities in it are *Tecoio*, now by the *Spaniards* called *St. Margarets*, and another called *St. Espiritu*. *Nova Granada* is situated on the South side of *Carthagena*, and from the abundance and fertility of *Granada* in *Spain* it hath taken its name. The chief Towns and Cities in it are six. First *Tungia*, which is supposed to be directly under the *Æquator*. The second is *Tochamum*. The third, *Popaian*, the richest of them all. The fourth, *Sta. Fee*, or *St. Faith*, an Arch-bishops seat, and a Court of Justice and Chancery, governed like *Panama* and *Guatemala*, by a President and six Judges, and a Kings Attorney and two high Justices of Court; who have six thousand duckats a year allowed them out of the Kings treasure. The fifth City is *Palma*; and the sixth *Merida*. From *Carthagena* through this Country of *Granada* lieth the road way to *Lima* in *Peru* all by land. This Country is very strong by reason of the situation of it much amongst stony rocks, which compass and environ it, and through which there
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are very narrow passages. Yet it is full of pleasant valleys which do yield much fruit, Corn and *Indian Maiz*. There are also in it some Mines of silver, and many golden sanded rivers. *Carthagena* which is the last Province of *Castella aurea*, hath also a very fruitful soil, in the which groweth a tree, which if any one do touch, he will hardly escape a poysoning.

The chief Cities in it are, first *Charthagena*, which Sir *Francis Drake* in that year 1585. surprised, and (as the *Spaniards* affirm) burned most part of it, and besides inestimable sums of mony, took with him from thence 230. pieces of Ordnance. I dare say now it hath not so many ; yet it is reasonably well fortified ; though not so strong as *Portabll*, It is a fair and gallant City and very rich, by reason of the pearls which are brought to it from *Margarita*, and the Kings revenues, which from all *Nova Granada* are sent thither. It is a Bishops seat, and hath many rich Churches and Cloisters. It is not governed by a Court of Justice and Chancery as *Sta. Fee* is, but only by one Governour. It hath been often moved to the Conncil of *Spain* to have some Gallies made to run about those Seas, and that *Carthagena* be the chief harbour of them. From this City received *England* the loss of that little Island named *Providence* by us, and by the *Spaniards* *Sta Catalina*, which though but little, might have been of a great, nay greater advantage to our Kingdom, than any other of our Plantations in *America* ; which the *Spaniards* well understood when they set all their strength of *Carthagena* against it ; but I hope the Lord hath his time appointed when we shall advantage our selves by it again. To this City of *Carthagena* cometh every year also in small Frigots most of the Indigo, Cochinell and Sugar which is made in the Country of *Guatemala* ; the *Spaniards* thinking it safer to ship these their goods in little Frigots upon the lake of *Granada* in *Nicaragua*, and from thence to send them to *Carthagena* to be shipped with the Galeons that come from *Portabel* with the treasure of *Peru*, than to send them by the ships of *Honduras*, which have often been a prey unto the *Hollanders*. These frigots were thought by the

the *Spaniards* to come too near the reach of *Providence*, and therefore it hath been their care and providence to remove us from this reach of their frigots. The second great Town of this Country of *Carthagena* is *Abuida*. The third *Sta. Martha*, which is a rich government of *Spaniards*, and doth much fear our *English* and *Holland* ships; it is seated on the river *de Abuida*, otherwise called *St. John* and *Rio di Grand*. There is also *Venezuela* and *New Caliz*, great, rich and strong Towns. And these three last regions, *Andaluzia Nova*, *Nova Granada*, and *Carthagena*, are by the *Spaniards* called *Tierra firme*, or firm land, for that they are the strength of *Peru* from the North, and the basis of this reversed *Pyramis*.

Thus have I brought thee, Gentle Reader, round about *America*, and shewed thee the Continent of that biggest part of the world; from the which thou mayst observe the power and greatness of the King of *Spain*, who hath got under his Scepter and Dominion so many thousand miles, which were they reckoned up, would be found to be more than are about all *Europe*. But not only is *America* great and spacious by land, but also by sea, glorying in more and some greater Islands, then any other part of the world. It would but cause tediousness, and seem prolixity to number them all up, which is a work hard and difficult, for that many as yet are not known nor inhabited, and whose goodness and greatness is not discovered; for the Islands called *Lucaidas* are thought to be four hundred at least. Therefore I will omit to be over-tedious and prolix, and will but briefly speak of the best and chief of them, taking them in order from that part of the Continent, *Carthagena*, where even now I left thee. But in the first place calls upon my pen the Jewel Island called *Margarita*, which is situated in the sea nigh unto *Castella aurea*, and not far distant from two other Islands, named *Cubagna* and *Trinidado*. True it is this Island of *Margarita* is by some much slighted for want of corn, grasse, trees and water; insomuch that it hath been known sometime that an inhabitant of that Island hath willingly changed

ged for a Tun of water a Tun of Wine. But the great abundance of pretious stones in it maketh amends for the former wants and defects; for from them is the name of *Margarita* imposed on that Island. But especially it yielded store of pearls, those gems which the Latin writers call *Uniones*, because *nulli duo reperiuntur indiscreti*, they always are found to grow in couples. In this Island there are many rich Merchants, who have thirty, forty, fifty *Blackmore* slaves only to fish out of the sea about the rocks these pearls. These *Blackmoors* are much made of by their Masters, who must needs trust them with treasure hidden in the waters, and in whose will it is to pass by of those they find, none, few, or many. They are let down in baskets into the Sea, and so long continue under the water, until by pulling the rope by which they are let down, they make their sign to be taken up. I have heard some say that have thus dealt in pearls, that the chief meat they feed their *Blackmoors* with, is roast meat, which maketh them keep their wind and breath longer in the water. From *Margarita* are all the Pearls sent to be refined and bored to *Carthagena*, where is a fair and goodly street of no other shops than of the Pearl-dressers. Commonly in the month of *July* there is a ship or two at most ready in that Island to carry the Kings revenue, and the Merchants pearls to *Carthagena*. One of these ships are valued commonly at three-score thousand, or fourscore thousand duckats, and sometimes more; and therefore are reasonable well manned; for that the *Spaniards* much fear our *English* and the *Holland* ships. The year that I was in *Carthagena*, which was 1637. a ship of these laden with pearls was chased by one of our ships from the Island of *Providence* (by some it was thought to be our ship called the *Neptune*) which after a little fighting had almost brought the poor *Spaniard* to yield his pearls, and had certainly carried away that great treasure (as I was informed in *Carthagena* four days after the fight by a *Spaniard* who was in the ship of *Margarita*) had not two other ships of *Holland* come between to challenge from our *English* man that prize, alledging their privilege from
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the mighty States united for all prizes upon those seas and coast. And whilst our *English* and *Hollander* did thus strive for the Pearls, the *Spanish* ship ran on shore upon a little Island, and speedily unladed and hid in the woods part of the treasures, and perceiving the *Hollander* coming eagerly in pursuit of it, the *Spaniard* set on fire the ship, and neither *Spaniard*, *English*, nor *Hollander*, enjoyed what might have been a great and rich prize to *England*. From *Carthagená* was sent presently a man of War to bring home the pearls hid in the wood, which were not the third part of what was in the ship.

Jamaica is another Island under the power of the *Spaniards*, which is in length 280 miles, and 70 in breadth, which though it exceed *Margarita* in sweet and pleasant streams and fountains of water, yet is far inferiour to it in riches. Some Hides, some Sugar, and some Tobacco are the chief commodities from thence. There are only two Towns of note in it, *Oristana* and *Sevilla*; here are built ships which have proved as well at Sea, as those that are made in *Spain*. This Island was once very populous, and now is almost destitute of *Indians*; for the *Spaniards* have slain in it more than 60000; insomuch that women as well here as on the Continent did kill their children before they had given them life, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation. But far beyond the two former is the Island of *Cuba*, which is three hundred miles long, and seventy broad, which was first made known to *Europe* by *Columbus* his second navigation. This Island is full of Forests, Lakes, and mountains. The air is very temperate, the soil very fertil, producing brasse of exact perfection, and some gold though drossie hath formerly been found in it. It aboundeth also with Ginger, Cassia, Masticke, Aloes, some Cinnamon, Cana fistula, Sarzaparilla, and Sugar, and hath of flesh, fish, and fowls great plenty; but especially such store of sea Tortois, and Hogs, that the ships at their return to *Spain* make their chief provision of them. My self chanced to take physick there; and whereas I thought that day I should have a Fowl, or rabbit after my Physicks

sick working, they brought me a boyled piece of fresh young Pork, which when I refused to eat, they assured me it was the best dish the Doctors did use to prescribe upon such days.

The chief Cities of this Island are *Santjago* on the Northern shore, built by *James de Valasco*, a Bishops seat; and secondly, *Havana*, which is also on the Northern shore, and is a safe road for ships, and the staple of merchandize, and (as the *Spaniards* call it) the key of all the *West-India's*, to lock up or unlock the door or entrance to all *America*. Here rideth the King of *Spain's* Navy, and here meet all the Merchant ships from several ports and Havens of all those Countries aforementioned, whether from the Islands, or from the Continent: in a word, here commonly in the month of *September* is joyned all the treasure, as I may say, of *America*, all the King of *Spains* revenues, with as much more of Merchants goods, which the year that I was there were thought to be in all the worth of thirty millions. And the ships which that year there did meet to strengthen one another were 53 sail, and set out sooner that year than any other, upon the 16. of *September*, having that day a fair wind to waft them homewards through the Gulf of *Bahama*. *Havana* therefore being the store-house of all *America's* treasure, it hath been the *Spaniards* great care to fortifie that; and truly it is so strong, that the *Spaniards* hold it impossible to be taken, and do boast of four impregnable Forts, to wit, at *Antwerp*, *Millan*, *Pampelona*, and *Havana*. This hath two strong Castles, the one at the point or entrance of the Haven toward the Sea; the other more within, on the other side almost over against it; which two Castles (the passage in the mouth of the haven being so narrow, that one only ship in breast may enter) will keep and defend the Port from many hundred sail. I was myself in the great and chief Castle, and truly found it very strong, though by land I judge it might be as easily taken, as other strong Castles here in *Europe* have been overpowered by a great and powerful Army. It hath in it besides many others, twelve pieces of Ordnance of brasse exceed

exceeding great, which they call, The twelve Apostles. But for all this strength of the *Havana*, it could not once defend six or seven millions (according to the *Spaniards* own account) which the one part of the Kings Navy brought from St. *John de Ulhua* to the sight of this impregnable fort, and protected with such twelve Apostles. It was as I take it the year 1629. when that ever renowned *Hollander* (whom like unto our *Drake* the *Spaniards* to this day fear and tremble at, calling him *Pie de Palo*, that is, wooden leg) waited at the Cape of St. *Anthony* for the *Spanish* fleet of *Nova Hispania*. which according to his expectation coming, he manly set upon it, saluting and welcoming the great treasure in it with a full side of roaring Ordnance; the sound was more doleful than joyful and welcome to the *Spaniards*, who thought it safer sleeping in a whole skin, than to be unquieted by fighting, and with the sight of torn and mangled bodies, by *Mars* his furious and fiery balls, and so called a Council of War to resolve what they should do to save the Kings great treasure which was intrusted to them in those ships. The result of the Council was to flee and with some discharging of their Ordnance to defend themselves, until they could put into a river in the Island of *Cuba*, not far from *Havana* called *Matanzos*. There were in that fleet of *Spain* many Gallants and Gentlemen, and two Judges of the Chancery of *Mexico*, which were that year sent to *Madrid* as guilty in the mutiny before mentioned; there was in it of my acquaintance a Dominican Fryer, named Fryer *Jacinto de Hozes*, who had been sent to those parts to visit all the Dominican Cloisters of *New Spain*, and had got of bribes at least eight thousand duckats (as I was informed the year after by a Fryer his companion, whom he sent from *Havana* to *Guatemala*, to make known to his friends his loss of all that he had got, and to beg a new contribution to help him home) there was also in that fleet *Don Martin de Carillo*, who was the Inquisitor and Commissioner to judge the Delinquents in the fore-mentioned mutiny of *Mexico*, who was thought to have got twen-

ty thousand duckats clear ; besides these a Bishop, and many rich Merchants, all under the command of *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres*, Admiral to all the Fleet. They all fled for their lives and goods ; but the gallant *Hollanders* chased them. The *Spaniards* thinking the *Hollanders* would not venture up the river after them, put into *Metanzos* ; but soon after they had entred, they found the river too thallow for their heavy and great bellied Galeons, and so run them upon ground ; which done, the better and richer sort escaped to land, endeavouring to escape with what wealth they could ; some got out Cabinets, some bags ; which the *Hollanders* perceiving came upon them with bullet messengers, which soon overtook and stopt their flying treasures. Some few Cabinets were hid, all the rest became that day the gallant *Pie de Palo* or the wooden leg Captains prize for the mighty States of *Holland*. The Fryer *Hozes* was got into a boat with his Cabinet under his habit, which had in it nothing but chains of gold, diamonds, pearls and precious stones ; and half a dozen *Hollanders* leapt into the boat after him, and snatched it from him, as his own friend and companion related after to us in *Guatemala*. *Don Juan de Guzman y Torres* the Admiral, when he came to *Spain* was imprisoned, lost his wits for a while, and after was beheaded. Thus in the sight of impregnable *Havana* and of those 12 brazen Apottles, was *Holland* glorious and made rich with a seven million prize.

But before I end this Chapter, I may not forget the chiefest of all the Islands of this new world, which is call *Hispaniola*, and formerly by the natives *Hatie*, which lamenteth the loss of at least three millions of *Indians* murdered by her new Masters of *Spain*. This Island is the biggest that as yet is discovered in all the world, it is in compass about 1500 miles, and enjoyeth a temperate air, a fertil soil, rich mines ; and trades much in Amber, Sugar, Ginger, Hides, and Wax. It is reported for certain that here in 20 days herbs will ripen and roots also and be fit to be eaten, which is a strong argument of the exact temperature of the air. It yieldeth in nothing to *Cuba*, but excelleth in three things

things especially; first in the fineness of the gold, which is here more pure and unmixed; secondly, in the increase of the Sugar, one Sugar Cane here filling 20 and sometimes 30 measure; and thirdly in the goodness of the soil for tillage, the corn here yielding an hundred fold. This fertility is thought to be caused by four great Rivers, which water and enrich all the four quarters of the Island; all four do spring from one only mountain, which standeth in the very midst and center of the Country, *Juna* the running to the East, *Artibinnacus* to the West, *Jacbus* to the North, and *Naibus* to the South.

This Country is so replenished with Swine and Cattle, that they become wild among the Woods, and Mountains, so that the ships that sail by this Island, and want provision, go here ashore where it is little inhabited, and kill of Cattle, wild swine and boars, till they have made up a plentiful provision. Much of this Country is not inhabited, by reason that the *Indians* are quite consumed. The chief places in it are first *St. Domingo*, where there is a *Spanish* President and Chancery, with six Judges and the other officers belonging to it, and it is the Seat of an Arch-bishop, who though he enjoy not so much yearly rent and revenues as other Arch-bishops, especially they of *Mexico* and *Lima*; yet he hath an honour above all the rest, for that he is the Primate of all the *India's*, this Island having been conquered before the other parts, and so bearing antiquity above them all. There are also other rich Towns of trading, as *Sta. Isabella*, *St. Thome*, *St. John*, *Maragna*, and *Porto*. And thus hath my pen run over Sea and Land, Islands and most of the Continent that is subject to the *Spaniards*, to shew thee, my Reader, the state of *America* at this time. It is called *America* because *America Vesputius* first discovered it, though afterwards *Columbus* gave us the first light to discern these Countries both by example and directions. Besides the factions spoken of before between the Native *Spaniards* and those that come from *Spain*, there is yet further in most parts of it, but especially in *Peru*, a deadly faction and mortal hatred between the *Biscains* and the *Spaniards* of *Castile* and

Estremadura, which hath much shaken the quiet state of it, and threatned it with rebellion and destruction.

There are in all *America* four Arch-bishopricks, which are *Sto. Domingo, Mexico, Lima* and *Sta. Fee*, and above thirty inferiour Bishops. The politick Administration or Justice is chiefly committed to the two Viceroyes residing at *Lima* and *Mexico*, and with subordination unto them unto other Presidents, Governours, and high Justices, called *Alcaldes Mayores*; except it be the President of *Guatemala*, and of *Santo Domingo*, who are as absolute in power as the Viceroyes, and have under them Governours, and high Justices, and are no ways subordinate to the former Viceroyes, but only unto the Court and Council of *Spain*.

CHAP. XIV.

Shewing my Journey from Mexico to Chiapa Southward, and most remarkable places in the way.

HAVING now gone round *America* with a brief and superficial description of it, my desire is to shew unto my Reader what parts of it I travelled through, and did abide in, observing more particularly the state, condition, strength, and commodities of those Countries which lie Southwards from *Mexico*. It is further my desire, nay the chief ground of this my History, that whilst my Country doth here observe an *English* man become *American*, travelling many thousand miles there, as may be noted from *St. John de Ulbua* to *Mexico*, and from thence Southward to *Panama*, and from thence Northward again to *Carthagen*a, and to *Havana*, Gods goodness may be admired, and his providence extolled who suffered not the meanest and unworthiest of all his Creatures to perish in such unknown Countries; to be swallowed by North and South-sea, where ship-

shipwracks were often feared; to be lost in Wilderesses where no tongue could give directions; to be devoured by Wolves, Lions, Tigers or Crocodiles, which there so much abound; to fall from steepy rocks and mountains, which seem to dwell in the aerial Region; and threaten with fearful spectacles of deep and profound precipices, a horrid and inevitable death to those that climb up to them; to be eaten up by the greedy Earth which there doth often quake and tremble, and hath sometimes opened her mouth to draw in Towns and Cities; to be stricken with those fiery darts of Heaven and thunderbolts, which in winter season threaten the Rocks and Cedars; to be enchanted by Satans Instruments, Witches and Sorcerers, who there as on their own ground play their pranks more than in the parts of Christendom; to be quite blinded with *Romish* Errors and Superstitions, which have double blinded the purblind heathenish Idolaters; to be wedded to the pleasures and licentiousness, which do there allure; to be gluttoned with the plenty and dainties of fish, flesh, fowls, and fruits, which do there entice; to be puffed up with the spirit of pride and powerful command and authority over the poor *Indians*, which doth there provoke; to be tied with the Cords of vanity and ambition, which there are strong; and finally to be glewed in heart and affection, to the dross of gold, silver, Pearls and Jewels, whose plenty there both bind, blind, captivate and enslave the soul. O I say, let the Lords great goodness and wonderful providence be observed, who suffered not an *English* stranger in all these dangers to miscarry, but was a guide unto him there in all his travels, discovered unto him as to the spies in *Canaan*, and as to *Joseph* in *Egypt* the provision, wealth and riches of that world, and safely guided him back, to relate to *England* the truth of what no other *English* eye did ever yet behold. From the month of *October* until *February* I did abide with my friends, and companions, the Fryers under command of Fryer *Calvo* in that house of recreation called *St. Jacintho*, and from thence enjoyed the sight of all the Towns and of what else was worth the seeing about *Mexico*. But the

time I was there, I was careful to inform my self of the state of *Philippinas*, whither my first purposes had drawn me from *Spain*. It was my fortune to light upon a Fryer and an acquaintance of some of my friends, who was that year newly come from *Manila* whither I was going, who wished me and some other of my friends as we tendred our souls and good, never to go to those parts, which were but snares and trap doors to let down to hell, where occasions and temptations to sin were daily many in number, mighty in strength, and to get out of them, *labor & opus*, hard and difficult. And that himself, had not he by stealth gotten away (and that to save his soul) certainly he had never come from thence; who had often upon his knees begged leave of his superiours to return to *Spain*, and could not obtain it. Many particulars we could not get from him, nor the reasons of his coming away; Only he would often say, that the Fryers that live there are devils in private and in those retired places where they live among the *Indians* to instruct and teach them, and yet in publick before their superiours and the rest of the Fryers they must appear Saints, they must put on the cloak of hypocrisie to cover their inward devilishness, they must be cloathed with sheeps skins though within they be *lupi rapaces*, ravenous Wolves, ravening after their neighbours Wives and ravening after their neighbours wealth; and yet with all this unpreparedness, with this outward, seeming and frothy sanctity, and inward hellishness and deeprooted worldliness and covetousness, when the Superiours command and please to send them, they must go in a disguised manner to *Japan* or *China* to convert to Christianity those people though with peril and danger of their lives. Many such like discourses we got out of this Fryer, and that if we went to live there, we must be subject to the penalties of many Excommunications for trivial toys and trifles, which the Superiours do lay upon the Consciences of their poor Subjects, who may as soon strive against the common course of nature not to see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears, nor speak with their

their tongues, as to observe all those things which against sense, reason and nature with grievous censures and Excommunications are charged and fastned upon them. He told us further of some Fryers that had despaired under those rigorous courses, and hanged themselves, not being able to bear the burden of an afflicted and tormented Conscience; and of others that had been hanged, some for murdering of their rigid and cruel Superiours; and some that had been found in the morning hanging with their queans at the Cloister gates, having been found together in the night, and so murdered and hanged up either by the true Husband, or by some other who bare affection to the Woman. These things seemed to us very strange, and we perceived that all was not gold that glistered, nor true zeal of our souls that carried so many from *Spain* to those parts; or if in some there were at first a better and truer zeal than in others, when they came to *Philippinas*, and among those strong temptations, we found that their zeal was soon quenched. This reason moved me and three more of my friends to relent in our purposes of leaving *America*, and going any further, for we had learned that maxim, *Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo*; and *qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea*; He that loveth the danger, shall fall and perish in it; and he that toucheth pitch shall be smeared by it. Wherefore we communed privately with our selves, what course we might take, how we might that year return beak to *Spain*, or where we might abide, if we returned not to *Spain*. For we knew, if our Superiour *Calvo* should understand of our purposes to go no further, he would lay upon us an Excommunication to follow him, nay, and that he would secure us in a Cloister prison till the day and time of our departure from *Mexico*. Our resolutions we made a secret of our hearts; yet could not I but impart it to one more special and intimate friend of mine, who was an *Irish* Fryer, named *Thomas de Leon*, whom I perceived a little troubled with so long a journey as was at hand, and found often wishing he had never

Come from *Spain* and as soon as I had acquainted him with what I meant to do, he rejoiced and promised to stay with me. The time was short which we had to dispose of our selves; but in that time we addressed our selves to some *Mexican* Fryers, and made known unto them, that if our Superiour *Calvo* would give us leave, we would willingly stay at *Mexico* or in any Cloister thereabouts, until we could better fit our selves to return to *Spain* again. But they being natives and born in that Country discovered presently unto us that inveterate spight and hatred which they bare to such as came from *Spain*; they told us plainly that they and true *Spaniards* born did never agree, and that they knew their Superiors would be unwilling to admit of us; yet furthermore they informed us that they thought we might be entertained in the Province of *Guaxaca*, where half the Fryers were of *Spain* and half *Criolians* and Natives; but in case we should not speed there, they would warrant us we should be welcome to the Province of *Guatemala*, where almost all the Fryers were of *Spain*, and did keep under such as were Natives born in that Country. It did a little trouble us to consider that *Guatemala* was three hundred leagues off, and that we were ignorant of the *Mexican* tongue, and unprovided of mony and horses for so long a journey. But yet we considered *Philippinas* to be further, and no hopes there of returning ever again to Christendom; wherefore we resolved to rely upon Gods providence only, and to venture a three hundred leagues journey with what small means we had, and to sell what Books and small trifles we had, to make as much mony as might buy each of us a horse. But while we were thus preparing our selves secretly for *Guatemala* we were affrighted and disheartened with what in the like case to ours happened. A Fryer of our company named Fryer *Peter Borrallo*, without acquainting us or any other of his friends with what he intended, made a secret escape from us, and (as after we were informed) took his way alone to *Guatemala*. This so incensed our Superiour *Calvo*, that after great search and enquiry after him, he betook himself to

to the Viceroy, begging his assistance and Proclamation in the publick Market-place, for the better finding out his lost sheep, and alledging that none ought to hide, or privily to harbour any Fryer that had been sent from *Spain* to *Philippinas* to preach there the Gospel, for that the foresaid Fryers were sent by the King of *Spain*, whose bread they had eat, and at whose charges they had been brought from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and at the same Kings charges ought to be carried from *Mexico* to *Philippinas*; and therefore if any Fryer now in the half way should recant of his purpose of going to *Philippinas*, and should by flight escape from his Superiour and the rest of his company, the same ought to be punished as guilty of defrauding the Kings charges. This reason of *Calvo* being a politick and State reason, prevailed so far with the Viceroy, that immediately he commanded a Proclamation to be made against whosoever should know of the said *Peter Borrallo* and should not produce him to his Highness, or would harbour him or any other Fryer belonging to *Philippinas* from that time forward until the ships were departed from *Acapulco*; and that whosoever should trespass against this Proclamation, should suffer imprisonment at his Highness his will and pleasure, and the penalty of five hundred duckats to be paid in at the Kings Exchequer. With this Proclamation *Calvo* began to insult over us, and to tell us, we were the Kings slaves under his conduct, and that if any of us durst leave him (for he was jealous of most of us) he doubted not but with the Viceroy his assistance and Proclamation he should find both us and *Peter Borrallo* out to our further shame and confusion. This did very much trouble us, and made my *Irish* friend *Thomas de Leon* his heart to faint, and his courage to relent, and utterly to renounce before me his former purpose of staying and hiding himself; yet he protested to me, if I was still of the same mind, he would not discover me; but seeing his weakness, I durst not trust him, but made as if I were of his mind. Thus I betook my self to the other three of my friends (of whom one was *Antonio Melendez* that had been the first

first cause of my coming from *Spain*) whom I found much troubled, doubtful and wavering what course to take.

They considered if we should flee, what a shame it would be to us to be taken and brought back to *Mexico* as prisoners, and forcedly against our wills to be shipped to *Philippinas*, they considered further if they went, what a slavish and uncomfortable life they should live in *Philippinas*, without any hopes of ever returning again to Christendom; yet further they looked upon the Viceroy his Proclamation, and thought it hard to break through the opposition and authority of so great a man; and lastly, in the Proclamation they beheld the estimation that *Calvo* had of them, as of slaves and fugitives to be cryed in a publick Market-place. But after all these serious thoughts our only comfort was that *Peter Borallo* was safely escaped, and (as we were informed) had been met far from *Mexico* travelling alone towards *Guatemala*. And we thought, why might not we escape as well as he? Then I told them that my resolution was to stay, though alone I returned either to *Spain*, or took my journey to *Guatemala*; the rest were glad to see me resolute, and gave their hands that they would venture as much as I should. Then we set upon the time when we should take our flight, and agreed that every one should have a Horse in readiness in *Mexico*, and that the night before the rest of our company should depart from *Mexico* towards *Acapulco* to take shipping, we should by two and two in the evening leave *St. Jacinthe*, and meet in *Mexico* where our Horses stood, and from thence set out and travel all that night, continuing our journey so the first two or three nights and resting in the day time, until we were some twenty or thirty leagues from *Mexico*. For we thought the next morning *Calvo* awaking and missing us would not stop the journey of the rest of his company for our sake to search and inquire after us; or if he did, it would be but for one day or two at the most, till he had inquired for us in *Mexico*, or a days journey in some of the common or beaten roads of *Mexico*, where we would be sure

sure he should not hear of us ; for we also agreed to travel out of any common or know road for the first two or three nights. This resolution was by us as well performed and carried on, as it had been agreed upon, though some had been fearful that a counsel betwixt four could never be kept secret, nor such a long journey as of 900 miles be compassed with such small means of mony as was amongst us, for the maintenance of our selves and Horses ; for after our Horses were bought, we made a common purse, and appointed one to be the purse bearer, and found that amongst us, all there were but 20 duckats, which in that rich and plentiful country was not much more than here 20 *English* shillings, which seemed to us but as a morning dew, which would soon be spent in provender only for our Horses ; yet we resolved to go on, relying more upon the providence of God, than upon any earthly means ; and indeed this proved to us a far better support than all the drofs of gold and silver could have done ; and we reckoned that after we had travelled 40 leagues from *Mexico*, and entred without fear into the road, we had for our 20 duckats neer 40 now in our common purse. The reason was, for that most commonly we went either to Fryers Cloisters who knew us not, or to rich farms of *Spaniards* who thought nothing too good for us, and would not only entertain us stately, but at our departure would give us mony for one or two days journey. All our fear was to get safely out of *Mexico*, for we had been informed that *Calvo* had obtained from the Viceroy officers to watch in the chiefeft roads both day and night till he had departed with his Train of Fryers to *Acapulco*.

And for all the Viceroy his Proclamation we got a true and trusty friend, who offered to guide us out of *Mexico* by such a way as we needed not to fear any would watch for us. So with our friend and a map about us to guide us after he had left us, in the morning we cheerfully set out of *Mexico* about ten of the clock at night, about the middle of *February* and meeting no body about *Guadalupe* which was the way we went out (though the contrary way to *Guatemala*,

temala, which on purpose we followed for fear the true way should be beset) we comfortably travelled all that night, till in the morning we came to a little Town of *Indians*, where we began to spend of our small stock, calling upon the *Indians* for a Turkey and Capon to break our fast with our friend and guide before he returned to *Mexico*. Breakfast being ended we took our leave of him, and went to rest, that we might be more able to perform the next nights journey, which was to cross the Country towards *Atisco*, which is in a valley of twenty miles about at least, and doth give it the name of the valley of *Atlixco*, and is a valley much mentioned in all those parts, for the exceeding great plenty of Wheat that is there reaped every year, and is the chief sustenance and relief of *Mexico* and all the Towns about. In this valley are many rich Towns of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but we shunned to enter into them, and went from farm to farm out of the high-ways, where we found good entertainment of those rich Farmers and Yeomen, who bare such respect unto the Priest, that truly they thought themselves happy with our company. Here we began to shake off all fear, and would no more like Bats and Owls flie in the night, but that we might with more pleasure enjoy the prospect of that valley, and of the rest of the Country we travell'd by day; yet still crossing the Country, we went from thence towards another valley called the valley of *St. Pablo*, *Pauls* valley, which though it be not as big as the valley of *Atlixco*, yet is held to be a richer valley; for here they enjoy a double harvest of Wheat ever year. The first seed they sow is watered, and grows with the common season rain; and the second seed which they sow in Summer as soon as their first harvest is in, when the season of rain is past, they water with many Springs which fall into that valley from the Mountains which round beset it, and let in the water among their wheat at their pleasure, and take it away when they see fit. Here live Yeomen upon nothing but their farms, who are judg'd to be worth some twenty thousand, some thirty thousand, some forty thousand duckats. In this valley

ley we chanced to light upon one farm where the Yeoman was country-man to my friend *Antonio Melendez*, born in *Segovia* in *Spain*, who for his sake kept us three days and nights with him. His table was as well furnished as the table of a Knight might be, his side-board full of silver bowls and cups, and plates instead of trenchers; he spared no dainties which might welcome us to his table, no perfumes which might delight us in our chambers, no musick (which his daughters were brought up to) which might with more pleasure help to pass away the time. To him *Antonio Melendez* made known our journey towards *Guatemala*; and from him we received directions which way to steer our course until we might be thoroughly freed from fear and danger: here we began to see the great providence of God, who had brought us being strangers to such a friends house, who not only welcomed us to him, but when we departed gave us a guide for a whole day, and bestowed upon us twenty duckats to help bear our charges. From this valley we wheeled about to *Tasco*, a Town of some five hundred Inhabitants which enjoyeth great commerce with the Country about by reason of the great store of Cotton-wool which is there. And here we were very well entertained by a Franciscan Fryer, who being of *Spain* made the more of us, knowing we came from thence. Here we got into the Road of *Guaxaca*, and went to *Chantla*, which also aboundeth with Cotton-wool, but in it we found no entertainment but what our own purses would afford us. Next to this place is a great Town called *Zumpango*, which doth consist of at least eight hundred Inhabitants, many of them very rich both *Indians* and *Spaniards*. Their commodities are chiefly Cotton-wool, and Sugar, and Cochineal. But beyond this Town are the Mountains called *la Mesteca*, which abound with many rich and great Towns, and do trade with the best silk that is in all that Country. Here is also great store of Wax and Honey; and *Indians* live there who traffique to *Mexico*, and about the Country with twenty or thirty mules of their own, chopping and changing, buying and selling commodities,
and

and some of them are thought to be worth ten, or twelve, or fifteen thousand duckats, which is much for an *Indian* to get among the *Spaniards*, who think all the riches of *America* little enough for themselves. From these Mountains of *Misteca* to *Guaxaca* we saw little observable, only Towns of two or three hundred inhabitants; rich Churches, well built, and better furnished within with lamps, candlesticks, crowns of silver for the several statues of Saints; and all the way we did observe a very fruitful soil for both *Indian* and *Spanish* Wheat, much Sugar, much Cotton-wool, Hony, and here and there some Cochinell, and of Plantins, and other sweet and luscious fruit great store; but above all great abundance of Cattle, whose Hides are one of the greatest commodities that from those parts are sent to *Spain*. Some reported that about *Misteca* formerly much gold had been found, and the *Indians* were wont to use it much, though now they will not be known of any, lest the greediness of the *Spaniards* bring them to misery and destruction, as it hath their neighbours about them. Also it is reported for certain that there are Mines of silver, though as yet the *Spaniards* have not found them.

There are many Mines of Iron which the *Spaniards* will not busie themselves in digging, because they have it cheaper from *Spain*; from hence we came to the City of *Guaxaca*, which is a Bishops Seat, though not very big, yet a fair and beautiful City to behold. It standeth threescore leagues from *Mexico* in a pleasant valley, from whence *Cortez* was named *Marquess del Valle*, the Marquess of the Valley. This City, as all the rest of *America*, (except the Sea Towns) lyeth open without Walls, Bulworks, Forts, Towers, or any Castle, Ordnance or Ammunition to defend it. It may consist of at the most two thousand Inhabitants, and are governed by a *Spanish* high Justice called *Alcalde Major*, whose power reacheth over all the Valley, and beyond it as far as *Nixapa*, and almost to *Tecoantepeque*, a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*. The Valley is of at least fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth, where runneth

neth in the midst a goodly River yielding great store of fish. The Valley is full of Sheep and other Cattel, which yield much Wool to the Clothiers of the City of *Angels*, store of Hides to the Merchants of *Spain*, and great provision of flesh to the City of *Guaxaca*, and to all the Towns about, which are exceeding rich, and do maintain many Cloisters of Fryers, and Churches with stately furniture belonging unto them. But what doth make the Valley of *Guaxaca* to be mentioned far and near, are the good horses which are bred in it, and esteemed to be the best of all the Country. In this Valley also are some farms of Sugar, and great store of fruits, which two sorts meeting together have cryed up the City of *Guaxaca* for the best Con-serves and Preserves that are made in *America*. In the City there are some six Cloisters of Nuns and Fryers, all of them exceeding rich; but above all is the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers, whose Church treasure is worth two or three millions; and the building of it the fairest and strongest in all those parts, the Walls are of stone so broad, that a part of them being upon finishing when I was there, I saw Carts go upon them, with stone and other materials. Here are also two Cloisters of Nuns, which are talked of far and near, not for their religious practises, but for their skill in making two drinks which are used in those parts, the one called *Chocolatte* (whereof I shall speak hereafter) and the other *Atole*, which is like unto our *Almond* Milk, but much thicker, and is made of the juyce of the young *Maiz* or *Indian* Wheat, which they so confection with spices, musk, and Sugar, that it is not only admirable in the sweetness of the smell, but much more nourishing and comforting to the stomach. This is not a commodity that can be transported from thence, but is to be drunk there where it is made. But the other, *Chocolatte*, is made up in Boxes, and sent not only to *Mexico* and the parts thereabouts, but much of it is yearly transported into *Spain*. This City of *Guaxaca* is the richer by reason of the safety they enjoy for the carriage of their Commodities to and from the Port of *St. John de Ulhua*

Ulbua by the great River *Alvarado* which runneth not far from it; and although the Barks come not to the City of *Guaxaca*, yet they come up to the *Zapotecas*, and to *St. Ildefonso*, which is not far from *Guaxaca*. And the carelesness of the *Spaniards* here is to be wondred at, that all along this River which runneth up into the heart of their Country, they have built as yet no Castles, Towers, or Watch-houses, or planted any Ordnance, trusting only in this, that great ships cannot come up, as if Frigots or smaller Barks, such as they themselves use, may not be made to annoy them. But of *Guaxaca* I shall say no more, but conclude that it is of so temperate an air, so abounding in fruits, and all provision requisite for mans life, so commodiously situated between the North and South Sea, having on the North side *St. John de Ulbua*, and on the South *Tecoantepeque* a small and unfortified harbour, that no place I so much desired to live in whilst I was in those parts as in *Guaxaca*, which certainly I had attempted as I travelled by it, had I not understood that the *Criolian* or Native Fryers were many and as deadly enemies unto those that came from *Spain* as were the *Mexicans*. And this their spight and malice they shewed whilst we were there, to an antient and grave old Fryer Master in Divinity, who living had been for learning the Oracle of those parts. This old man died when I was there, and because when he lived they could pick no hole in his Coat, being dead they searched his chamber, and finding in a Coffer some monies which he had not made known to his Superiour when living (which they would reduce to a sin against his professed poverty, called Propriety, and subject to the censure of Excommunication) they reported that he had died excommunicated, and might not enjoy their Christian burial in the Church or Cloister, and so ignominiously buried their old Divine, and with him his Credit and reputation in a grave made in one of their Gardens. A thing much talked on as scandalous to all the City and Country, which they salved with saying he was excommunicated; but the truth was, he was of *Spain*, and therefore at his death they would

would shew their spright unto him. For certainly they could not do it for the sin of Propriety, which by him had been committed in his life; and to them all may be well said what our Saviour said to the Jews bringing to him a woman found in adultery to be stoned, *Whosoever of you is without sin, let him cast the first Stone*; for all of them, yea, even the best Friars that live in *America*, are some way or other, much or less guilty of the sin of Propriety which they profess and vow against. With this which we saw with our eyes, besides what with our ears we had heard of discords and factions amongst them, we thought *Guaxaca* was no place for us to live in; so after three days we made hast out of it, and departed towards *Chiapa*, which lyeth three hundred miles from thence. And for our comfort in our further travelling, we were informed in *Guaxaca*, that in most Towns of the Road through that Country, the *Indians* had an order from the high Justice to give unto Friars travelling that way either horses to ride on, or to carry their carriages and provision of food freely without mony, if they had none, so that at their departure they should write it down in the Town-book what they had spent, not abiding above four and twenty hours in the Town; which expences of travellers, the *Indians* afterwards at the years end of their ordinary Justice and Officers were to give an account of with carrying their Town-book unto the *Spanish* Justice to whom they belonged, and by so doing these expences were allowed of to be discharged by the common Town-Purse or Treasure, for the which a common plat of ground was allotted to be yearly sown with Wheat or *Maiz*. With this charitable relief and help of the Towns we conceived better of the rest of our long journey, and hoped to compass it with more ease. And so joyfully we went on, and the first place where we made tryal of this order was at a great Town called *Antiquera*, where we freely called for our fowls, and what other provision we saw in the Town, fed heartily on them, and the next day when we were to pay and to depart, we called for the

Town-book, subscribed our hands to what we had spent our selves and horses, and went our way, praising the discretion of the Justices of that Country, who had settled a course so easie and comfortabe for us, especially who had but shallow purses for our long journey. Yet we found in some small Towns that the *Indians* were unwilling, and (as they alledged) unable to extend this Charity to us, being four in company, and bringing with us the charge likewise of four horses, which made us sometimes make the longer journey that we might reach unto some great and rich Town. The next to *Antiquera* in that Road is *Nixapa*, which is of at least eight hundred Inhabitants, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, standing upon the side of a River, which we were informed was an arm of the great River *Alvarado*. In this Town is a very rich Cloister of Dominican Friars, where we were well entertained; and in it there is a picture of our Lady, which superstitiously they fancy to have wrought miracles, and is made a pilgrimage from far and near, and consequently hath great riches and lamps belonging unto it. This is counted absolutely one of the wealthiest places of all the Country of *Guaxaca*; for here is made much Indigo, Sugar, *Cochinil*; and here grow many trees of *Cacaco*, and *Achiotte*, whereof is made the *Chocolate*, and is a commodity of much trading in those parts, though our *English* and *Hollanders* make little of it when they take a prize of it at Sea, as not knowing the secret virtue and quality of it for the good of the stomach. From hence we went to *Aguatulco* and *Capalita*, also great Towns standing upon a plain Country full of Sheep and Cattel, abounding with excellent fruits, especially *Pines* and *Sandia's*, which are as big as Pumpions, and so waterish that they even melt like snow in the mouth, and cool the heat which there is great, by reason it is a low and marsh-kind of ground, lying near the South-Sea. The next chief Town and most considerable after *Capalita* is *Tecoantepeque*; this is a Sea Town upon *Mar del Zur*, and a harbour for small vessels, such as Trade from those parts to *Acapulco* and *Mexico*, and to *Realejo* and *Guatemala* and

and sometimes to *Panama*. Here upon some occasions Ships which come from *Peru* to *Acapulco* do call in. It is a Port no farther safe, than that no *English* or *Holland* Ships do come thereabouts, which if they did, they would there find no resistance, but from thence would find an open and easie Road over all the Country. Upon all this South-Sea side from *Acapulco* to *Panama*, which is above two thousand miles by land there is no open harbour, but this for *Guanaxaca*, and *La Trinidad* for *Guatemala*, and *Realejo* for *Nicaragua*, and *Golfo de Salinas* for small vessels in *Costa Rica*, and all these unprovided of Ordnance and Ammunition, all open doors to let in any Nation that would take the pains to surround the World to get a treasure. This Port of *Tecoantepeque* is the chief for fishing in all that Country; we met here in the ways sometimes with fifty, sometimes with a hundred mules together laden with nothing but salt-fish for *Guanaxaca*, the City of *Angels* and *Mexico*. There are some very rich Merchants dwell in it, who trade with *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Philippinas*, sending their small vessels out from Port to Port, which come home richly laden with the Commodities of all the Southern or Eastern parts. From hence to *Guatemala* there is a plain Road along the Coast of the South-sea, passing through the Provinces of *Soconusco* and *Suchutepeque's*, but we aiming at *Chiapa* took our journey over the high Rocks and Mountains called *Quelenes*, travelling first from *Tecoantepeque* to *Estepeque*, and from thence through a desert of two days journey, where we were fain to lodge one night by a spring of water upon the bare ground in open wide fields, where neither Town nor House is to be seen; yet thatcht lodges are purposely made for travellers. This plain lyeth so open to the Sea, that the wind from thence blows so strongly and violently that travellers are scarceable to sit their horses and mules; which is the reason no people inhabit there, because the winds tear their houses, and the least fire that there breaks out doth a great deal of mischief. This Plain yet is full of Cattel, and Horses, and Mares, some wild, some tame, and through this windy Champaign Coun-

try with much ado we travelled ; though my self thought I should even there end my days, for the second day being to reach to a Town, and my three friends riding before, thinking that I followed them, evening now drawing on they made more hast to find the Town. But in the mean while my horse refused to go any further, threatening to lie down if I put him to more than he was able. I knew the Town could not be far, and so I lighted, thinking to walk and lead my horse, who also refused to be led, and so lay down. With this a troop of thoughts, beset me, and to none I could give a flat answer. I thought if I should go on foot to find out the Town and my company, and leave my Horse there saddled, I might both lose my self and my horse and saddle ; and if I should find the Town and come in the morning for my Horse, the plain was so wide and so spacious, that I might seek long enough, and neither find him, nor know the place where I left him, for there was nothing near to mark the place, nor where to hide the saddle, neither hedge, tree, shrub, within a mile on any side. Wherefore I considered my best course would be to take up my lodging in the wide and open wilderness with my horse, and to watch him lest he should wander and stray away, until the morning or until my friends might send from the Town to see what was become of me ; which they did not that night, thinking I had taken my way to another Town not far from thence, whither they sent in the morning to enquire for me. I looked about therefore for a commodious place to rest in, but found no choise of lodgings, every where I found a bed ready for me, which was the bare ground, a bolster only or pillow I wanted for my head, and seeing no bank did kindly offer it self to ease a lost stranger, and pilgrim, I unsaddled my weary Jade, and with my saddle fitted my head instead of a pillow. Thus without a supper I went to bed in my Mothers own bosom, not a little comforted to see my tired horse pluck up his spirits, and make much of his supper, which there was ready for him, of short, dry and withered grass, upon which he fed with a greedy

greedy and hungry stomach, promising me by his feeding that the next day he would perform a journey of at least thirty or forty miles. The poor beast fed apace, my careful eye watched him for at least an hour, when upon a sudden I heard such an hideous noise of howling, barking and crying, as if a whole Army of dogs were come into the Wilderness, and howled for want of a prey of some dead horse or mule. At first the noise seemed to be a pretty way off from me, but the more I hearkned unto it, the nigher it came unto me, and I observed it was not of dogs by some intermixt shriekings as of Christians, which I perceived in it. An observation too sad for a lone man without any help or comfort in a Wilderness, which made my hair to stand upright, my heart to pant, my body to be covered with a fearful sweat as of death. I expected nothing else, not knowing from whence the noise proceeded; sometimes I thought of Witches, sometimes of devils, sometimes of *Indians* turned into the shape of beasts, (which amongst some hath been used) sometimes of wild and savage beasts, and from all these thoughts I promised myself nothing but sure death, for the which I prepared myself recommending my soul to the Lord, whilst I expected my body should be a prey to cruel and merciless beasts; or some instruments of that roaring Lyon who in the Apostle goeth about seeking whom he may devour. I thought I could not any ways prevail by flying or running away, but rather might that way run my self into the jaws of death; to hide there was no place, to lie still I thought was safest, for if they were wild beasts, they might follow their course another way from me, and so I might escape. Which truly proved my safest course, for while I lay sweating and panting, judging every cry, every howling and shrieking as an alarm to my death, being in this agony and fearful conflict till about midnight, on a sudden the noise ceased, sleep (though but the shadow of death) seized upon my wearied body, and forsook me not, till the mornings glorious lamp shining before my slumbering eyes and driving away deaths

shadow greeted me with life and safety. When I awaked, my soul did magnifie the Lord for my deliverance from that nights danger, I looked about and saw my horse also near the place where I had left him; I saddled him presently with desire to leave that wilderness and to find out my company, and to impart unto them what that night had happened unto me; I had not rid above a mile, when I came to a brook of water, where were two ways, the one straight forward along the desert, where I could discover no Town, nor houses, nor trees in a prospect of five or six miles at least; the other way was on the left hand, and that way, some two or three miles off I saw a wood of trees, Imagined there might be the Town; I followed that way, and within a quarter of a mile my horse began to complain of his poor Provender the night before, and to slight me for it; I was fain to light and lead him; and thus again discouraged with my horse, and discomforted for the uncertainty of my way, looking about I spied a thatcht house on the one side of the way, and one on horseback, who came riding to me; it was an *Indian* belonging to that house which was the farm of a rich *Indian*, and Governour of the next Town, of whom I asked how far it was to the Town of *Estepeque*, he shewed me the trees, and told me that a little beyond them it stood, and that I should not see it until I came unto it. With this I got up again and spurred my fallen jade, until I reached unto the trees, where he was at a stand and would go no further. Then I unsaddled him, and hid my saddle under some low shrubs, and leaving my horse (whom I feared not that any would steal him) I walked unto the Town which was not above half a mile from thence, where I found my three friends were waiting for me, and grieved for the loss of me, had sent to another Town to enquire for me; it was the least thought they had that I had been a lodger in the desert. When I related unto them and to the *Indians* the noise and howling that I had heard, the *Indians* answered me that that was common musick to them almost every night, and that they were Wolves and Tygers which they feared

feared not, but did often meet them, and with a stick or hollowing did scare them away, and that they were only ravenous for their Fowls, Colts, Calves or Kids. After a little discourse I returned with an *Indian* to seek my horse and saddle, and in that Town I sold my wearied *Mexican* beast, and hired another to *Ecatepeque*, whither we went all four friends again in company. Where note that in this plain and champaign Country of *Tecoantepeque* are five rich and pleasant Towns full of fruits and provision of victual, all ending in *Tepeque*, to wit, *Tecoantepeque*, *Estepeque*, *Ecatepeque*, *Sanatepeque*, and *Tapanatepeque*. Now from *Ecatepeque* we could discover the high mountains of *Quelenes*, which were the subject of most of our discourse to *Sanatepeque*, and from thence to *Tapanatepeque*. For we had been informed by *Spaniards* and Travellers in the way, that they were the most dangerous Mountains to travel over that were in all those parts; and that there were on the top of them some passages so narrow, and so high, and so open to the boisterous winds that came from the South-sea, which seemed to lie at the very bottom of them; and on each-side of these narrow passages such deep precipices amongst rocks, that many times it had happened that the wind blowing furiously had cast down Mules laden with heavy carriages down the rocks, and likewise horse-men had been blown down both Horse and man. The sight of the rocks and Mountains did terrifie us, and the report of them did much affright us, so that in all this way we did confer which way to take, whether the road way to *Guatemala* which lieth under those mountains along the coast by the Country of *Soconuzco*, from whence (though out of our way) we might have turned to *Chiapa*; or whether we should steer our right course to *Chiapa*, over those Mountains, which we had been informed, we might safely pass over if the winds did not blow too boisterously. We resolved that when we came to *Tapanatepeque* we should choose our way according as the winds did favour or threaten us, but however to *Chiapa* we would go, because there we had understood was the Superiour and Provincial of all

the Dominicans of those parts, (to whom we ought to address our selves) and also because we would see that famous and much talk'd of Province of *Chiapa*. In *Sanatepeque* we met with a Frier, who gave us stately entertainment, and from thence gave us *Indians* to guide us to *Tapanatepeque*, and a letter to the chief of the Town (which also was at his command) to give us Mules to carry us, and *Indians* to guide us up the Mountains. Here the rest of our Horses also failed us, but their weariness was no hinderance to us, for the *Indians* were willing to give us as much or more than they had cost us, because they were true *Mexican* breed, and all the way we went to *Chiapa* and through that country to *Guatemala* the Towns were to provide us of Mules for nothing. We came to *Tapanatepeque* (which standeth at the bottom and foot of *Quelenes*) on Saturday-night, and with the letter we carryed were very much welcomed and entertained well by the *Indians*.

This Town is one of the sweetest and pleasantest of any we had seen from *Guaxaca* thither, and it seems God hath replenished it with all sorts of comforts which Travellers may need to ascend up those dangerous and steepy rocks. Here is great plenty of Cattle for flesh, and rich *Indians* which have farms, called there *Estantia's*, in some a thousand, in some three or four thousand head of Cattel; fowls here are in abundance, fish the best store and choicest of any Town from *Mexico* thither; for the Sea is hard by it, and besides there runneth by it a small River which yields divers sorts of fish. From the Mountains there fall so many springs of water, that with them the *Indians* water at their pleasure their Gardens which are stored with much herbage and sallets. The shade which defends from the heat (which there is great) is the Daughter of most sweet and goodly fruit trees, and of Orange, Lemon, Citron and Fig leaves. The Sabbath morning was so calm that we desired to make use of it, lest by longer delays the winds should stay us, or force us to the Coast of *Soconusco*. But the *Indians* intreated us to be their guests at dinner, not doubting but the weather would hold, and

and promising us to provide us strong and lusty Mules, and provision of fruits, and fried fish, or Fowls, or what our selves desired. We could not refuse this their kind offer, and so stayed dinner with them. After dinner our Mules were brought, and two *Indians* to guide us and carry our provision, which was some fried fish, and a cold roasted Capon, with some fruit as much as might suffice us for a day, for the chief ascent and danger is not above seven leagues or one and twenty *English* miles, and then beyond the top of the Mountains three miles is one of the richest farms for Horses, Mules, and Cattel, in all the Country of *Chiapa*, where we knew we should be welcomed by one *Don John de Toledo*, who then lived there. Though these Mountains shew themselves with several sharp pointed heads, and are many joyned together, yet one of them is only mentioned in that Country by the travellers, which is called *Maquilapa*, over which lyeth the way to *Chiapa*. To this high, steepy, and craggy *Maquilapa* we took our journey after dinner, and were by the proud Mountain that night well entertained and harboured in a green plat of ground resembling a meadow, which lay as a rib of the one side of that huge and more than *Pyrenian* monster. The *Indians* comforted us with the shews of fair weather, and told us that they doubted not but the next day at noon we should be at *Don John de Toledo* his *Estantia*, or farm. With this we spread our supper upon the green table-cloth, and at that first meal eat up our Capon and most of the provision of our cold fried fish, leaving only a bit for our mornings breakfast, the springs of water like Conduit-pipes, trickling down the rocks, gave us melodious musick to our supper; the *Indians* fed merrily, and our Mules contentedly, and so the fountain Nymphs sung us asleep till morning, which seemed to us as calm and quiet as the day before, and encouraged us hastily to snatch that bit which we had left and so up from breakfast, to say merrily, up to *Maquilapa*. We had not winded the Mountain upwards much above a mile, when the higher we mounted, the more we heard

heard the wind from above whistling unto us, and forbidding us to go any further. We were now half way up, and doubtful what we should do, whether go forward, or return to *Tapanatepeque* to eat more fish, or to stay where we were a while until the weather were more calm, which we thought might be at none or towards evening. The *Indians* told us that about a mile further there was a fountain of water, and a lodge made under trees on purpose for Travellers that were either benighted or hindred by the winds to compass their journey up the mountain. Thither we went with much ado, hoping the wind would fall, but still the higher we climbed, the stronger we felt the breath of *Æolus*, and durst not like the people called *Pfilli* (of whom *Herodotus* writeth) march against him, lest as they instead of a victory found a grave in the sands where they met to oppose him, so we instead of ascending should by a furious blast be made to descend into those deep and horrid precipices, which truly threatned death, and offered themselves to be a grave unto our torn and mangled bodies. We liked the fountain very well, and the lodge better, for the harbour of trees which compassed it about. The wind kept on breathing, and we stood still fearing, till the day was so far spent that we had no hopes of going back, or forward. Of any supper we despaired that night, who would have been glad now to have picked a bone of a Capons leg or to have sucked a fishes head, and saw there was nothing for us; but only to feed our hungry stomachs with the remembrance of the plenty the night before. Thus gazing one upon another, and sometimes looking down to the fountain, sometimes looking up to the trees, we perceived amongst them a Lemmon tree, full of small and very sower green Lemmons. It was not with us as with *Tantalus* who could neither enjoy the fruit above him, nor the waters beneath him; we could and did most greedily catch and snatch the Lemmons, which were sauce for no meat, but only to fill an empty stomach; with them we supped and took our rest. The next morning the Wind was rather stronger than calmer, and we as strong the second day

as the first in our purpose of staying there, and not turning our backs like Cowards. The *Indians* were also willing to stay yet one day longer; so we fell to our breakfast of Lemmons which were somewhat cool to a fasting stomach, and relished nothing the better with a draught from the clear fountain. And of what we left on the tree we made our dinner and supper, adding to our water what we saw the *Indians* did drink, who had their small bags full of powder, and when they travel, carry with them that powder to drink with Water. This we thought might be more nourishing to us, than Lemmons and water only, and so for that day we bought of them half a bag full of powder giving for it in our want and necessity four Ryals, or two *English* shillings, which out of *Maquilapa* and that our fear of starving might not be worth above a peny; and yet this was but weak nourishment for our feeble bodies. Thus we waited all Tuesday for the laying of the Wind, resolving the next morning either to go up the hill, or down again to *Tapanatepeque*. But on Wednesday morning the wind seeming to be somewhat laid, we purposed to stay till noon hoping then it would be sure travelling; but it ceased not but rather increased a little; whereupon one of our company resolved to go upwards a mile or two on foot, and try the passages, and the danger of the wind, and to bring us word again; for we thought our fear might be greater than the danger, who had heard much talk, but had not as yet seen any thing worth our fear. Up therefore went our friend, who staid from us near two hours, and then returning back he told us he thought we might get up leading our Mules by the Bridles. But what with further questions and debates the time passed away, so that we thought it might be too late; and for that day we put off our journey until the next morning resolutely purposing to go forwards all together, if the wind were not much increased. So that day we fell again to our green crabby Lemmons, Water and Maiz powder, all which we found had much weakned our bodies, and feared if we continued there any longer they might hasten our death.

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Wherefore on Thursday morning (the wind being as the day before) commending our selves first unto the protection of that Lord whom the winds and sea obey, we mounted upon our Mules (leaving our names written in the bark of a great tree, and the days we staved there without food) and so went upward. We perceived no great danger in the wind a great while, but some steps and passages upon stony rocks we feared for the narrowness of them, and there we lighted, thinking our selves safer upon our own two feet, than upon the four feet of a beast. But when we came up to the very top of *Maquilapa* (which signifies in that tongue, a head without hair) we perceived truly the danger so much talked of, and wished our selves again with our green Lemons in the way to *Tapanatepeque*, for we found it indeed a head without hair, a top without a tree or branch to shelter a fearful Traveller; the passage that lieth open to the sea may be no more than a quarter of a mile, but the height and narrowness of it stupifieth, for if we look on the one side, there is the wide and spacious South-sea lying so deep and low under it, that it dazleth the eyes to behold it; if we look on the other side, there are rocks of at least six or seven miles depth; whose sight doth make the stoutest and hardest heart (though like themselves) to quake and quiver; so that here the sea expects to swallow, there the rocks threaten to tear with a downfal, and in the midst of those dangers in some places the passage is not above an ell broad. We needed better cordials for that quarter of a mile than feeding three days upon green Lemons and water, and durst not man our selves so much as to go through it upon our Mules; we lighted and gave the *Indians* our Mules to lead, and we followed them one by one, not daring to walk upright for fear of head-giddiness with looking on either side, but bowing our bodies we crept upon our hands and feet as near unto the tracks which beasts and travellers had made as we could without hindering our going. And when we had got to the end of that passage, and where the mountain was broader, and the trees promised relief, we then
looked

looked back boldly, and accused of folly both our selves and all other Travellers that sought no other way though ten miles about, to avoid that danger both for man and beast. From thence joyfully we made hast to *Don John de Toledo*, who made us welcome and gave us some warm broath to comfort our stomachs, which were so weak that no sooner had we eat any thing, but presently we cast it up again; till after many sups of broth and wine we recovered strength towards night, and eat our suppers: there we staid two days; and thus thoroughly refreshed we went to *Acapala*, a very great Town of *Indians* in the Province of *Chiapa*, standing by the same river that passeth by *Chiapa*, which is called *Chiapa de Indios*, or *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, to distinguish it from another *Chiapa*, called *Chiapa Real* the *Royal Chiapa*, or *Chiapa de Espanoles*, *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*. From *Acapala* we went first to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which standeth almost as low as *Maquilapa* is high, seated upon a river as broad as is the *Thames* at *London*, which hath its spring from the Mountains called *Cuchumatlanes*, in the road from *Chiapa Royal* to *Guatemala*, and runs towards the Province of *Zoques*, where it entrencheth into the River of *Tabasco*. But of this *Chiapa* I will speak a little more in the next Chapter, and now only say that here we were joyfully entertained by those Friers, who looked upon us as members belonging to the Corporation of that their Province, and assured us that the Provincial and chief Superiour would be very glad of our coming, who wanted *Spanish* Friers to oppose the *Criolians* and *Natives* who strove to get a head as they had done in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*. Here we understood that the Provincial was not above one days journey from thence. Here also we met with our friend *Peter Borallo*, who had come before us alone, and made his escape from *Mexico*; he comforted us much with the good and kind usage which he had found there; yet he told us how *Calvo* was gone with the rest of his train from *Mexico* to *Acapulco*, and from thence was shipped with them to *Philippinas*; but that at his departure he had writ a letter of bitter

bitter complaints unto the Superiour of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala* against him and us four, desiring the Provincial not to entertain us, but to send us back to *Mexico*, to be shipped from thence the next year unto *Philippinas*; which letter was not regarded, but much slighted by the Provincial. After we had been a week feasted in *Chiapa*, we thought it now fit to present our selves to the Provincial (whose name was Frier *Peter Alvarez*) that from him we might receive judgment, and know whether we should stay in that Province, or be forced to return to *Spain*, for in no other part of *America* we could be entertained. We found the Provincial in a little Town called *St. Christopher*, between *Chiapa* of the *Indians* and the *Royal Chiapa*, recreating himself in the shady walks, which are many sweet and pleasant in that small Town; where also there is store of fish, and great abundance of rare and exquisite fruits. He entertained us very lovingly with fair and comfortable words, with a stately dinner and supper, and before we went to bed, to shew his humility he did unto us what Christ to his Disciples, he washed our feet. The first day he said little or nothing unto us concerning our continuing in that Country; but the next day he discovered unto us his full resolutions, with many wise and cunning sophisms. For first he read unto us the letter which *Calvo* had writ unto him against us, glossing upon it how ill we had done in forsaking our first love and calling to *Philippinas*, and the danger many *Indian* souls might be in by reason of our not going thither to convert and instruct them, whose gifts and abilities he supposed might have been more profitable and comfortable to those souls, than those who in our stead and absence should be sent amongst them. And secondly, he told us how we had frustrated the King of *Spains* good hopes of us, who had allowed us means and maintenance from *Spain* to *Mexico*, hoping that by us many souls of *Indians* in *Philippinas* might be saved. Thirdly, he told us that he looked upon us as his prisoners, in whose power it was to imprison us, and to send us prisoners to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, to be shipped from thence to *Manila*, according

ding to *Calvo* his demand. But for the present he would not let us know what he meant to do with us ; Only he bad us not be discouraged, but to be merry and recreate our selves, and that after dinner we should know more from him, when he had received an answer to a Letter which he had writ unto the City of *Chiapa* concerning the disposal of our persons. These reasonings of the grave and old Provincial not a little saddened our hearts ; for the loss of Souls, the King of *Spain* his intentions and charity charged upon us, and imprisonment spoke of by the by were words which seemed of a very high strain, and so could hardly be digested by us ; this mornings breakfast had quite taken away from us our stomach to our dinner. And thus we departed from the presence of the venerable Frier *Peter Alvarez*, and betook our selves to a shady walk under Orange trees belonging to the house where this Supper was. In this shade we conferred with our selves upon the words of *Alvarez*, and finding them of so high a nature, as involving souls, a King and imprisonment, we thought verily we should be sent back to *Mexico*, and from thence like fugitive slaves be forced to *Philippinas*. Here my hopes of ever more seeing *England* were lost ; *Antonio Melendez* his heart panted, wished himself again upon the highest top of *Maquilapa* ; another wished himself with old *Calvo* at Sea sailing to *Manila*, though it were but to help him scrape his rusty Gammons of Bacon.

The motion was made to make an escape from *Alvarez*, as we had done from *Calvo* ; but to this answer was made, that whithersoever we went, not knowing the Country, we should be discovered ; and that put case the worst, we should be sent to *Mexico*, we might better escape in the way, than there where we were. At last I told the rest, that I could conceive no hard nor harsh usage from that smiling and loving countenance of the Provincial, nor after that his low and humble act of washing our feet the night before ; and that I thought verily he wished us well for having come so far to offer our selves for fellow labourers

ners in that harvest of souls belonging to his charge, and whom we knew wanted such as we were newly come from *Spain* to oppose the Criolians or Natives faction in that Province; alledging furthermore the example of our friend and companion *Peter Borallo*, whom he had already incorporated into that Province, and could do no less with us without partiality and acceptance of persons. And lastly my opinion was, that in case we ought not to be entertained there, yet the Provincial would not send us back to *Mexico*, there to be disgraced and affronted, but would give way unto us to return to *Spain*, or whither else we would, with some relief and mony in our purses. Whilst we were thus troubled, and in this sad and serious discourse, old *Alvarez* it seems had been eying of us from his window, and as *Joseph* could not long suppress and keep in the expressions of a loving and tender heart unto his brethren; so this good Superior perceiving that we were troubled with what he had said unto us, sent his companion unto us to comfort us; which we easily perceived by his discourse when he came unto us. For as soon as he came he asked us, why we were so sad and melancholy? he told us, the Provincial also had observed that we were troubled. But said he, be of good chear; be confident that the Provincial wisheth you very well, and needeth such as you are, and having come into his Dominion to trust your selves upon his mercy, by harsh and unkind usage he will not do what Martial Law forbids a hard hearted Soldier to do unto his enemy upon such terms. Many such comfortable words did he speak unto us; and told us further that the Provincial had been much censured by the Criolian party for entertaining of *Peter Borallo*; and that now they would stir worse, seeing four more come to weaken their Faction; and therefore he desired to be well advised concerning us, and to carry our business with such discretion, as might give little offence to those who were apt to judge and censure the best of all his actions. And finally he did assure us, that we should never be sent back as Prisoners to *Mexico* by the Provincial, who in
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case he should not entertain us in *Chiapa*, or *Guatemala*, would further us with all his favour, and friends, and money in our purses to return again to *Spain*. These reasons were heart-fainting Cordials unto us, and stomach preparatives to a good dinner, to which by the sound of a bell we were invited. When we came in, the loving, smiling, and fatherly countenance of the good Provincial did cheer us more than all the cheer that waited for us upon the table in several dishes, all which were seasoned to our Palates with the sauce of the comfort, which the Provincials messenger had brought unto us in the shady Orange-walk in the Garden. The great provision of flesh and fish, with fruits and sweet-meats were yet to us a strong argument that we were very welcome, for what we fed on that day, might well become a Noble-mans table; Besides in many passages of our discourse we perceived that good old *Alvarez* his heart was over-joyed with our coming to him. Dinner being ended, the Provincial desired to play a game at Tables with us round about, saying he would not win our money, because he judged us poor after so long a journey. But thus he settled the game and sport; that if he did win, we should say for him five *Pater Nosters*, and five *Ave Maries*, but if we won, we should win our admittance, and Incorporation into that Province. This sport pleased us well, for our winnings we judged would be to us more profitable at that time, than to win pounds, and our losings we valued not; besides we were confident all went well with us, when from the favour of the Dice, we might challenge that favour which with many weary journeys we had come to seek above four hundred miles. The sport began, and we young blades taking one by one, our turns, were too hard for the old man, who as we perceived would willingly be the loser, that his very losses might speak unto us what through policy and discretion he would not utter with words. Yet we boldly challenged our winnings, which as soon as we had ended our game were now surely confirmed unto us by the return of an *Indian* messenger, who that morning

had been sent to the City of *Chiapa* for advice and counsel from the Prior and the chief of the Cloister concerning our disposal, and now was returned with an answer from the Prior, who in his letter expressed great joy unto the Provincial for our coming, and so from the rest of the Seniors of the Cloister, and did earnestly beg of the Superior, that he would send us to him to be his guests, for that our case had been his own some ten years before; for he had also at *Mexico* forsaken his company to *Philippinas*, and fled to *Guatemala*, where for his learning and good parts he had been as a stranger much envied by the Criollian faction; but now he hoped he should have some to side with him against such as spighted and maligned him. Old *Alvarez* was much taken with his letter, and told us he must pay what he had lost, and that the next day he would send us to *Chiapa*, there to abide till he took further care of us, to send us to other parts of the Country; to learn the *Indian* languages, that we might Preach unto them. This discourse being ended, we betook our selves again to the Garden which smellt more of comfort than before dinner, and to our shady walks which now offered us a safer protection than they had done in the forenoon, countenancing that protection which we had gained from the Provincial.

Here we began to praise God, who had looked upon us in our low estate, not forgetting the wise and politick Provincial, who though he had lost his games for our comfort, we would not he should lose our prayers, which there we offered up to God for his health and safety. And so till supper time we continued our discourse in the Garden fuller of mirth and pleasant jests, than we had done before dinner, snatching now and then at the Oranges and Lemons which were there both sour and sweet, eating of some, and casting some one at another, but especially at him who had wished himself with *Calvo* dressing his rusty Bacon, whom we strove to beat out of the garden by force of Orange and Lemon bullets; which sport we continued the more willingly, because we perceived

ved the good Provincial stood behind a Lattice in a Balcony beholding us, and rejoycing to see our hearts so light and merry. We had no sooner beat *Calvo* his friend out of the garden, when the bell to supper sounded a retreat to us all, and called us again to meet our best friend *Alvarez*, who had furnished us a Table again like that at noon. After supper he told us that the next morning he would send us to *Chiapa*, for that the Prior had writ unto him he would meet us in the way with a breakfast at a Town called *St Philip*; wherewith we conceited very highly of our selves, to see that Provincials and Priors were so forward to feast us. Yet before we went to bed, the Provincial would try again a game at Tables with every one of us; to see if now he could beat us that had beentoo hard for him at noon. The matter of our game was now altered, and what we played for was this; if the Provincial won, we were to be his prisoners, (which mystery we understood not till the next day, for the old man was crafty and politick, and knew he could win of us when he listed, for he was an excellent gamester at Tables) but if we won of him, he was to give us a box of *Chocolatte*, which was a drink we liked very well. The Game went on, and we every one of us one by one were losers, yet understood not how we should be his prisoners, but slighted our losses. Yet for all this the merry Provincial told us, he was sorry we had lost, and wished we might never be prisoners to a worse enemy than he; and that we should perceive it, he would comfort us each one as a prisoner with a box of *Chocolatte*, to drink for his sake, and to comfort our hearts, when most we should find them discomfited for our losses. We understood not his meaning till the next day at noon, but thought it was a jest and a word of sport and mirth, like many such which in his discourse had come from him.

With this we took our leaves, and went to bed with light and merry hearts. In the morning two Mules of the Provincial and two of his Companion were saddled for

us, and at least a dozen *Indians* on horse back waited for us to conduct us up a steep hill and through woods to the Town of *St. Philip*. After our breakfast the good Provincial embraced us, and bad us farewell, desiring us to pray for him; and not to be discouraged by any thing that might befall us, assuring us he wished us very well, and would do what lay in his power for our good; yet so, that he must use policy and discretion to stop the mouths of the *Criolians*, whom he knew hated both him and us. Thus we departed with Waits and Trumpets sounding before us, which rebounded an *Escho* all the way up the hill from us to old *Alvarez* whom we had left in a low bottom compassed about with hills on every side. We had no sooner ascended up to the top of the Mountain, when we discovered a little Valley, and in it the City of *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*; with two or three small Villages, of which one was *St. Philip* at the bottom of the Mountain, which we were to ascend. The Trumpets which still went sounding before us were a sufficient and loud Alarm to *St. Philips* Inhabitants of our coming, and a warning for the speedier hastening of our second breakfast, for the which the cold morning air (which we found somewhat piercing upon the Mountain) had whetted and thoroughly prepared our stomachs. We had not got down the Mountain half a mile, when we met with a matter of twenty gallant *Indians* on horseback with their Trumpeters sounding before them, and behind them came upon a stately Mule the Prior of *Chiapa*, (whose name was Father *John Baptist*) a merry fat Fryer, who calling us his brethren fugitives from *Philippinas*, told us we were welcome to that country, and to him especially, and that in the next *St. Philip* he would shew us better sport than any *St. Philip* in all the *Philippinas* Islands could have shewed us, if we had gone thither. Thus with a pleasant discourse, and many merry conceits from the good Prior we soon came down the hill, where the whole Village of Saint *Philip* waited for us both men and women, some presenting unto us *Nosegays*, others hurling *Roses*, and other flowers in
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our faces, others dancing before us all along the street, which was strowed with herbs and Orange leaves, and adorned with many Arches made with flowers and hung with garlands for us to ride under until we came to the Church, where for half an hour we were welcomed with the best musick from the City of *Chiapa*, which the Prior had hired to come with him to entertain us. Our Musick being ended, fat Father *John Baptist* stood up and made a short speech unto the *Indians*, giving them thanks for their kind and pompous entertainment of us his special friends, and that their souls might gain by it, he granted unto them a plenary indulgence of all their sins past, to be gained by as many of them as should visit that Church the next Lords day either before or after noon. And thus from the Altar we went unto our breakfasting Table, which was furnished with many well seasoned dishes of salt and well peppered and spiced-meats, all fit to make us relish better a cup of *Spanish Pier Ximeny* which the Prior had provided for us. After our salt meats, came such rare and exquisite sorts of sweet meats made by *John Baptist* his best devoted Nuns of *Chiapa*, that the like we had not seen from St. *John de Ulhua* to that place. These were to prepare our stomachs for a Cup of *Chocolatte*, with the which we ended our breakfast. But whilst all this was gallantly performed by the Prior, it was a hard Riddle unto us, what he often repeated unto us, saying, Brethren break your fast well, for your dinner will be the meanest as ever ye did eat in your lives, and now enjoy this sweet liberty which will not last long unto you. We observed the words, but knew not what to make of them, till we came unto the Cloister. After our breakfast the *Indians* shewed us a little sport in the market place, running races on horse-back, and playing at *Inego de Canna's*; which is to meet on horse-back, with broad Targets to defend their heads and shoulders, while passing by they hurl Canes, or darts one at another, which those *Indians* acted with great dexterity.

Thus the good Prior of *Chiapa* feasted us, and permitted

ted us to enjoy our liberty as long as it seems it had been agreed upon by letters between him and the Provincial, which was till it might be dinner time in the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where we were to be before noon. The time drew near, and we had from *St. Philip* to the City of *Chiapa*, some two *English* miles to ride; Wherefore the Prior commanded our Mules to be brought; the Waits and Trumpets gave warning to the Town of our departure; and so with many horsemen, with dances, Musick and ringing of Bells we were as stately and joyfully conducted out of the Town, as we had been inducted into it. At the first half miles end the Prior gave thanks unto the *Indians*, and desired them to return, the Cloister being near, where we expected another kind of entertainment, not using in the City and Cloister that pomp and state, which in the Country might be allowed. The *Indians* took their leaves of us; and on we went with only two as guides before us. Within half a mile of the City, the Prior and a companion of his stopped, and took out of his pocket an order from the Provincial, which he read unto us, to this effect, That whereas we had forsaken our lawful Superior *Calvo* in the way to *Philippinas*, and without his license had come to the Province of *Chiapa*, he could not in conscience but inflict some punishment upon us before he did enable us to abide there as members under him; therefore he did strictly command the Prior of *Chiapa*, that as soon as we should enter into this Cloister, he should shut us up two by two in our chambers, as in prisons, for three days, not suffering us to go out to any place, save only to the publick place of refection (called Refectory) where all the Fryers met together to dine and sup, where at noon time we were to present our selves before all the Cloister sitting upon the bare ground, and there to receive no other dinner, but only bread and water; but at supper we might have in our chambers or prisons, what the Prior would be pleased to allow us. This was the Penitance enjoyned upon us by the wise and cunning Provincial. The news at the first was but four sawce, or a dry

Postpast

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Postpast after a double sumptuous breakfast; it was a doleful ditty to us after our Musick and dances, to hear of a treble fast after our feast; to hear of imprisonment after so great liberty. We now began to remember the Provincials winnings at Tables the night before, and the mystery thereof, and began to think how comfortable his boxes of *Chocolatte* would be unto us after a meal of bread and water. Now we called to mind the short dinner the Prior had told us at *St. Philips*, we were like to have that day, and of the liberty he bad us then make much of. But the good Prior seeing us sad upon a suddain, and our countenances changed, smiled upon us, wishing us not to think the worse of him, nor of the Provincial, who did that out of Policy, and to stop the Criolians mouths, whom he knew would murmur, if no punishment were inflicted upon us. He assured us, after our imprisonment, of honours, and preferments, and that as long as we were with him, we should want no encouragement, and that after a bread and water dinner, he could send us to our chambers a supper, that should strongly support our empty stomachs, and fur and line them well for the next four and twenty hours. With these encouragements on we went to the Cloister of *Chiapa*, where we were welcomed by most of the Fryers, but in some few we noted a frowning and disaffected countenance. We were no sooner conducted to our Chambers, when the bell sounded to dinner for the rest, and cryed aloud to us Penance with bread and water. Down we went to the common dining place, and thanks being given, the Fryers sitting round the tables, we four *Philippinian Jonahs* (so some Criolians were pleased to term us) betook our selves to the middle of the Refectory, where without cushions, stools, seats or forms, we sat upon the bare ground cross legged like Taylors, acting humility now for our disobedience to slovenly *Calvo*. While the first dish was presented round the tables, to each of us was presented a loaf of reasonable bigness, and a pot of pure Crystal Water, whereof we fed and drank most heartily though with full stomachs

from a double breakfast before. Yet even here in this Publick act of shame and disgrace (which we knew was usual among Fryers for less faults than ours) we had this comfort, that we had a Prior and Provincial for friends, and that that punishment came from a friendly hand, whose Chocolate we had to comfort our fasting bodies ; and secondly, we knew that we should have that night in our prison chambers a better supper than any of those before us, who fed upon their three or four dishes. But thirdly, it was our comfort that at that very time a Criolian Fryer also sat upon the ground with us (of whose company we had been informed by some friends before we went into the Refectory) for some love-letters which had been intercepted between him and a Nun of that City, tending to much uncivility, and breaking their oath of professed chastity. But when I perceived this Fryer to look discontentedly upon us, I chose my place as near unto him as I could, and hearing him mutter within himself against us, calling us disobedient *Philippinian Jonahs*, I softly and friendly spoke unto him with these two following Hexameters, [which suddenly came into my mind about his misdemeanour ;

*Si Monialis Amor te turpia scribere fecit,
Ecce tibi frigida præbent medicamina lymphæ.*

But my good neighbour snuffing and puffing at my sudden Muse, seemed to be more discontented than before, and would fain withdraw himself by degrees from me, not rising up (for that was not lawful to do till dinner had been ended) but rigling his elbows and shoulders scornfully from me, whom in like manner I followed ; cleaving friendly to him with this verse,

Solamen misero est socios retinere Panettes.

He thought I followed him to steal away his loaf from him. This new found word, *Panettes*, had almost choaked him, had

had he not made use of the medicinal water which stood before him; of the which he drank a good draught, whereby I perceived his courage against me and my friends was tamed, and I told him, I hoped his burning wanton love was cooled.

Thus with my Criolian neighbours company, my bread and water went down cheerfully; and dinner being ended, we were again conducted to our chambers, where we drank a cup of *Alvarez* his *Chocolatte*. The *Castilian* Fryers flocked unto our prisons, some to talk with us, some bringing us conserves and sweet-meats, others other dainties, which they had prepared to help our digestion of bread and cold water. My suddain verses to my Criolian neighbour were presently noised about the Cloister, and were the chief subject of our talk that afternoon. Our Supper was provided for us according to the promise and generous spirit of the Prior, who also honoured our prison that night with his own and two other Fryers company, supping with us all in one chamber together. And thus we passed our three days of imprisonment merrily and contentedly, wishing we might never suffer harder usage in any prison than we had done in this, which was not to us such a punishment as did bring with it the privation of any liberty of enjoying the company of friends, and feasting with them, but only the privation of the liberty of our legs to walk about those three days; and this rather an ease than a punishment, for that we wanted rather rest, than much stirring after so long and tedious a journey as we had compassed from *Mexico* thither. We were no sooner set at liberty, but we presently found the Provincial and Prior ready to dispose of us so, that in lieu of our imprisonment we might receive honour and credit. Two were sent into the Country to learn some *Indian* language, that so they might be beneficed and preach unto the *Indians*. My self and another desired to go farther to *Guatemala*, that there we might practice Philosophy and Divinity in the famous University of that City. Nothing that we desired was denied un-

to us, only the time was thought not fit until *Michaelmas*, because then the schools were renewed, and new Orders settled. In the means time the Provincial having also heard of my verses *ex tempore* to the Criolian Fryer, and knowing that the *Latin* Tongue is better grounded in *England* than among the *Spaniards* (who abuse poor *Priscian*, and daily break his pate with foolish solcecisms) and considering the want he had of a Master of the *Latin* Tongue to supply a Lecture of Grammar and Syntax to the youths of *Chiapa*, in a School in that Cloister, which brought a sufficient yearly stipend unto the Covent; desired me to accept of that place until such time as he should take care to send me to *Guatemala*, promising me all encouragements in the mean time fitting, and that I should when I would go about to see the Country (which I much desired) and also that out of the school-annuity I should have my allowance for books, and other necessities. I could not but accept of this good offer; and so with this imployment I remained in that City from *April* to the end of *September*, where I was much esteemed of by the Bishop and Governour, but especially by the Prior, who would never ride about the Country for his recreation, but he would take me with him, whereby I had occasion to note concerning the Province, riches, commodities and government of *Chiapa*, what in the ensuing Chapter I shall faithfully commend unto the Press.

CHAP. XV.

Describing the Country of Chiapa, with the cheifest Towns and Commodities belonging unto it.

THough *Chiapa* in the opinion of the *Spaniards* be held to be one of the poorest Countries of *America*; because in it as yet there have been no mines discovered, nor golden sands found in the rivers, nor any haven upon the South sea, whereby commodities are brought in and carried out, as to *Mexico*, *Guaxaca*, and *Guatemala*; yet I may say it exceedeth most Provinces in the greatness and beauty of fair Towns, and yieldeth to none except it be to *Guatemala*; nay it surpasseth all the rest of *America* in that one, and famous and most populous Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. And it ought not to be so much slighted by the *Spaniards* as it is, if they would look upon it as standing between *Mexico* and *Guatemala*, whose strength might be all *America's* strength, and whose weakness may prove dangerous to all that flourishing Empire, for the easie entrance into it by the river of *Tabasco*, or for its near joyn- ing and bordering unto *Yucatan*. Besides, the commodities in it are such as do uphold a constant trading and commerce amongst the Inhabitants themselves, and with other neighbouring Countries, and from no one part of *America* doth *Spain* get more *Cochinil* than from one of the Provinces of *Chiapa*; the Towns also being great and populous, by their yearly pole tribute do add much to the King of *Spain's* Revenues.

This Country is divided into three Provinces, to wit, *Chiapa Zeldales*, and *Zoques*; whereof *Chiapa* it self is the poorest. This contains the great Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns and farms North-ward towards *Maqui*.

Maquilapa, and West-ward the Priory of *Comitlan*, which hath some ten Towns, and many farms of Cattle, Horses, and Mules subject unto it, and neighbouring unto it lyeth the great valley of *Capanabastla*, which is another Priory reaching towards *Soconuzco*. This valley glorieth in the great river, which has its spring from the mountains called *Cuchumatlans*, and runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and from thence to *Tabasco*. It is also famous for the abundance of fish which the river yieldeth, and the great store of Cattle which from thence minister food and provision both to the City of *Chiapa*, and to all the adjacent Towns. Though *Chiapa* the City, and *Comitlan* as standing upon the hills, be exceeding cold, yet this valley lying low is extraordinary hot, and from *May* to *Michaelmas* is subject to great storms and tempest of thunder and lightning. The head Town where the Priory stands, is called *Copanaabstla*, consisting of above eight hundred *Indian* inhabitants. But greater than this is *Izquintenango* at the end of the valley and at the foot of the mountains of *Cuchumatlans*, Southward. And yet bigger than this is the Town of *St. Bartolomeu* Northward at the other end of the valley, which in length is above 40 mile, and 10 or 12 only in breadth. All the rest of the Towns lie toward *Soconuzco*, and are yet hotter and more subject to thunder and lightning, as drawing nearer unto the South sea coast. Besides the abundance of Cattle, the chief commodity of this valley consisteth in Cotton-wool, whereof are made such store of mantles for the *Indians* wearing, that the Merchants far and near come for them. They exchange them to *Soconuzco* and *Xuchutepeques* for *Cacao*, whereby they are well stored of that drink. So that the inhabitants want neither fish (which they have from the river) nor flesh (for that the valley abounds with Cattle) nor clothing (for of that they spare to others) nor bread, though not of wheat, for there grows none; but *Indian Maiz* they have plenty of; and besides they are exceedingly stored with fowls and Turkeys, Fruits, Hony, Tobacco and Sugar-canes. Neither is mony here nor in *Chiapa* so plentiful as in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*; and
whereas

whereas there they reckon by Patacones, or pieces of eight; here they reckon by Tostones which are but half Patacones. Though the river be many ways profitable to that valley, yet it is cause of many disasters to the inhabitants, who lose many times their children, and their Calves and Colts drawing near to the water-side, where they are devoured by *Caymanes*, which are many and greedy of flesh, by reason of the many prizes they have got. The City of *Chiapa Real*, is one of the meanest Cities in all *America*, consisting of not above four hundred householders *Spaniards*, and about an hundred houses of *Indians* joyn-ing to the City, and called *el barrio de los Indios*, who have a Chappel by themselves. In this City there is no Parish-Church, but only the Cathedral, which is mother to all the inhabitants. Besides, there are two Cloisters, one of Dominicans, and the other of Franciscans, and a poor Cloister of Nuns, which are burthenfome enough to that City. But the Jesuits having got no footing there (who commonly live in the richest and wealthiest places and Cities) is a sufficient argument of either the poverty of that City, or of want of gallant parts, and prodigality in the Gentry; from whose free and generous spirits they like Horse-leeches are still sucking extraordinary and great alms for the Colleges where they live; but here the Merchants are close handed, and the Gentlemen hard, and sparing, wanting of wit and Courtiers parts and bravery, and so poor *Chiapa* is held no fit place for Jesuits. The Merchants chief trading there is in *Cacao*, Cotton-wool from the adjacent parts of the Country, in Pedlers small wares, and in some Sugar from about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, in a little *Cochinil*; for commonly the Governour (whose chief gain consisteth in this) will not suffer them to be too free in this commodity, lest they hinder his greedy traffique. These have their shops all together in a little Market-place before the Cathedral Church, built with Walks and Porches, under which the poor *Indian* wives meet at five a clock at evening to sell what flap and drugs they can prepare most cheap for the empty *Criolian* stomachs.

stomachs. The richer sort of these Merchants go and send yet further to *Tabasco* for wares. from *Spain*, such as Wines, Linnen-cloth, Figs, Raisins, Olives, and Iron, though in these commodities they dare not venture too much, by reason the *Spaniards* in that Country are not very many, and those that are there, are such as are loth to open their purses to more than what may suffice nature. So that what are *Spanish* commodities are chiefly brought for the Fryers who are the best and joviallest blades of that Country. The Gentlemen of *Chiapa* are a by-word all about that Country, signifying great Dons (*donees*, gifts or abilities I should say) great birth, phantastick pride, joyned with simplicity, ignorance, misery and penury. These Gentlemen will say they descend from some Dukes house in *Spain*, and immediately from the first Conquerors; yet in carriage they are but Clowns, in wit, abilities, parts and discourse, as shallow-brained, as a low brook, whose waters are scarce able to leap over a pebble stone; any small reason soon tries and tries their weak brain, which is easily at a stand when sence is propounded, and slides on speedily when non-sence carrieth the stream. The chief families in this City, are named, *Cortez*, *Solis*, *Velasco*, *Toledo*, *Zerna*, and *Mendoza*. One of these, who was thought the chief in my time, called *Don Melchior de Velasco*, one day fell into discourse with me concerning *England*, and our *English* nation, and in the best, most serious and judicious part of his Don-like conference, asked me whether the Sun and Moon in *England* were of the same colour as in *Chiapa*, and whether *English* men went barefoot like the *Indians*, and sacrificed one another as formerly did the Heathens of that Country? and whether all *England* could afford such a dainty as a dith of Frixoles (which is the poorest *Indians* daily food there, being black and dry Turkey or French beans boyled with a little biting Chile or *Indian* Pepper with Garlick, till the broth become as black as any Ink) and whether the women in *England* went as long with child, as did the *Spanish* women? And lastly, whether the *Spanish* nation were not a far gallanter nation

nation than the *English*? When I perceived my Don ran farther and farther into his simple and foolish questions, I cut him off suddenly, telling him, Sir, it is long since I came out of *England*, if you give me leave to recollect my memory, I will answer some of these your hard questions the next time we meet (thinking hereby to try my Dons wit further, whether he could perceive I jeered him.) To which my simple Don replied, I pray Sir do, and whensoever you come, you shall be welcome to a dish of Frixoles. With this I took my leave of him, and at our farewell he again desired me to study well his questions, and to return him a speedy answer, whereby I was more confirmed in my conceit of my Don, that he was either *tonto* or *bobo*, fool or simple. Yet thought I, my best way to answer is to answer a fool according to his folly, and so resolved within two or three days to return unto him some simple answer according to his simple and foolish questions. Therefore speedily I singled out a good occasion of meeting with him at his own house, who welcomed me with much *Spanish* gravity, and sitting down before *Donna Angela*, his painted wife and Angel; began to answer, or more to jeer his *Donship*. I began with the Sun and Moon, telling him that they were planets, and had their special influences upon several nations, as all planets have upon mans body. And so they did shew themselves according to the inclination of the people of several Kingdoms. And therefore as the *Spaniards* were much inclined to *Venus* and to beauty, and not contenting themselves with the natural beauty of their fair Ladies, would yet have Art add to nature by the skill and use of the best painting colours; so these glorious planets of the Sun and Moon among the *Spaniards*, and especially in *Chiapa*, shewed themselves most comely, bright, glorious and beautiful, working the like inclination to beauty upon, and in all *Spaniards*. My instance was in the land of the Black-moors; where I told them that their bodies were black, and that among them the Sun appeared with a dark and sad visage. Here my Don cried out; An excellent example! I gave him

him yet a second instance from the Eclipse of the Sun ; which being eclipsed, made all the Earth, mens faces and bodys seem of a dark, or yellow colour, to shew the proportion or sympathy of sublunary bodies to that high and overmastering planet. To this that good *Don* replied *senor nose puede decirmas*, sir, nothing can be answered or said more or better. *Vengamos agora a Ingalatierra*, Let us draw now to *England*. To which I answered him, that in *England* the Sun and Moon appeared half the year of one colour, and half of another ; for the women one half year it appeared as in *Spain* and *Chiapa*, beautiful and glorious, for that naturally without painting they yielded to none in beauty. But the other half year it appeared as red as blood, or scarlet ; and the reason might easily be guessed at, for that no Nation is more warlike and high spirited than the *English*, whose very cloaths were fiery, wearing more scarlet than any nation in the World ; as he might perceive by their coming so much with their ships to the *Indian* Coasts to fight with the *Spaniards* ; and that they delighted to go in red, and to be like the Sun, so naturally they were brought to those Seas to single out such ships as from *America* carried the rich Commodity of *Cochinil*, whereof they make more use than *Spain* it self, to dye their cloaths and Coats withal. Here my *Don* jogged his head, and replied, Sir, I thought no nation had been so like the Sun as the *Spaniards*, for I have read that when our Ancestors came to conquer these parts, the *Indians* called them, *bijos del Sol*, that is, sons of the Sun, being comely and gallant, and more like the Sun than any other people. To this I answered him. Sir, no doubt but you are like the Sun here, and none more glittering and bright, your very hatbands shining with Pearls and Diamonds like the brightness of the Sun ; but as I said before, the *Blackmoores* are like their Sun, so I say, the *English* is like their Sun, which is red, and so do and will affect to wear Scarlet, as long as any *Cochinil* is to be found in the *Indians*

Now *Don Melchior* began to understand me, and told me, never man had satisfied him with better reasons than my self. He thank'd me heartily, and told me, he thought no Gentleman in *Chiapa* could tell so well as himself now why the *English* Ships came so much upon their Coasts; and that my discourse had satisfied him to the full. He desir'd me to go on to his other Questions. To his second, demanding whether the *English* went bare-foot like the *Indians*, I told him I thought that the Count of *Gondomar* (who had been many years Embassador from *Spain* in *England*) had satisfied all the *Spaniards* that doubt; who coming from *England* to *Madrid*, and being there ask'd by some Courtiers, whether *London* was as big as *Madrid*, and as well peopled? he made answer, that he thought there was scarce a hundred left in *London*. He prov'd it from the Custom of his own Countrymen of *Spain*; who when they are to make a Journey, shew themselves two or three days before in Colours walking with Boots and Spurs, that their Friends may take notice that they are departing out of the Town or City. So said the Count of *Gondomar*, I think by this there are very few People in *London*; for when I came from thence I left them all almost in Cloaths of Colours, booted and spurr'd as ready to depart and take some Journey. And truly my *Don* (quoth I) your own Count hath answer'd for me; yet I say, the *English* are so far from going bare-foot, that they go booted, and are all in a readiness to move out of *England* for any Noble and Generous Design; but above all they are still ready for *America*, where they know is Abundance of Hides to make them Boots to cover their Legs, that they may not be suspected to be like bare-footed *Indians*. Here *Don Melchior* reply'd, I pray Sir, when they come by Sea to these parts do they come also booted and spurr'd? For I should think, when they fight, their Spurs should hinder them. To this his doubt I answer'd first, as concerning Spurs in the Ships, with the Example of one of his own Nation, and

and of the best Divines in *Spain*, living in my time in *Valladolid* call'd *Maestro Nunno*, (Reader of Divinity in the Colledge of *St. Gregory*, but in his Carriage and experience in the World a simple Noddy) who being invited by a Noble man to go with him in his Coach out of the City a mile or two to a Garden of Recreation, went hastily about the College to borrow Boots and Spurs; and when he had put them on, being ask'd whither he went, and why he put on Boots and Spurs, answer'd that he was to go in a Coach out of the City, and that he thought the Coach and Mules would want spurs to go and come the sooner. Even so my *Don* (quoth I) the *English* men come booted and spurr'd in their Ships, to make their Ships Sail the swifter. And this is the Reason why the *English* Ships Sail faster and when they are in fight turn about quicker than a *Spanish* Galeon, because they are spurr'd and kick'd within. O Sir, I humbly thank you (said *Don Melchior*) for that by your discourse I know the truth of what indeed I have often heard say, that the *English* Ships are nimbler, and quicker at Sea than our heavy Galeons. Now as for fighting, the *English* mens Spurs (said I) are no hindrance to them, but rather a great advantage; for they fight with Weapons, with their hands and Feet, wherein they exceed the *Spaniards*; for when they have Shot with their Pieces, or cut down with their Swords any Enemy, or knock'd him with their Halberts, then with their Feet and Spurs, they fall on him, and soon rid him out of the way, that he may no more rise up against them. All you have told me (said the wise *Velazco*) stands with so much Reason, that my judgment is convinced. As for eating and sacrificing one another like the *Indians* (I told him) that the *English* fill'd their Bellies so with fat Beef and Mutton, Fowls, Rabbits, Partridges, and Pheasants, that they had no Stomach at all to Mans Flesh. And that truly for Frixoles of garlick, that only dainty Dish was wanting in *England*, and that for Garlick, three Reasons mov'd the *English* not to be lavishing of that little they had; first, for fear they should want it for their Horses

ses drenches; 2ly, for that they felt not themselves so much troubl'd with Wind, nor puffed up with windy and vain conceits as other nations: but thirdly and chiefly they refrain'd from it that they might not smell of it, and that by the scent and smell of it afar off at Sea they might when they come to the Coast of *America*, smell out a *Spanish Ship*, and know it from a *Hollander*. Here my *Don Melchior* fell into admiration, assuring me, he had never heard more solid reasons from any Man. Alas poor *Criolian* of *Chiapa* (thought I) if I had spoken Sence, thy shallow Brain had not been able to have leapt over it, but after non-sence thou art easily carried away. As for his last Question, I told him that was above my reach, for that poor Friers ought not to meddle with Women, neither had my mother ever told me how long she went with me. But however if *Donna Angela* would tell me how long she went with her Children, I would by the Constellations of the Heavens search out against our next meeting, how long the *English Women* went with their Children. To this my *Don Melchior* answer'd, that he would not trouble me to study what he thought was not belonging to my Profession; but he knew that if I would study that or any other hard and difficult Point, I could give him more and better satisfaction than any Scholar in that City.

And thus (Reader) by this *Don Melchior's* wit and ability would I have thee judge of the Gentlemen *Criolians* or natives of *Chiapa*; and yet as presumptuous they are and arrogant, as if the Noblest Blood in the Court of *Madrid* ran in their Veins. It is common among them to make a Dinner only with a Dish of Frixoles in Black Broth Boil'd with Pepper and Garlick, saying it is the most nourishing meat in all the *India's* and after this stately Dinner they come out to the Street-Door of their Houses to see and to be seen, and there for half an Hour will they stand shaking off the Crums of Bread from their Cloaths, Bands (but especially from their Ruffs when they used them) and from their Mustachoes. And

with their tooth-pickers they will stand picking their teeth, as if some small Partridge bone stuck in them; nay if a friend pass by at that time, they will be sure to find out some crum or other in the Mustacho (as if on purpose the crumbs, of the table had been shaken upon their beards, that the loss of them might be a gaining of credit for Great House-Keeping) and they will be sure to vent out some Non-Truth, as to say, *A Senor que linda perdiz he comido* oy, O Sir, what a dainty Partridge have I eat to day ! whereas they pick out nothing from their teeth but a black husk of a dry frixole or Turkey bean. Though great in Blood, and in Birth they say they are, yet in their employments they are but Rich Grifiers, for most of their wealth consisteth in Farms of Cattel and Mules. Some indeed have Towns of *Indians* subject unto them, whereof they are call'd Encómendero's, and receive yearly from every *Indian* a certain Pole Tribute of fowls, and Mony. They have most cowardly Spirits for War, and though they will say, they would fain see *Spain* yet they dare not venture their lives at Sea ; they judge sleeping in a whole skin the best maxim for their Criolian Spirits. One hundred fighting Soldiers would easily lay low those *Chiapa Dons*, and gain the whole City, which lyeth so open to the fields, that the Mules and Asses come in and graze, the Streets being very commodious to entertain Asses from within, and from without. Yet in this City liveth commonly a Governour, or Alcalde Major, and a Bishop. The Governours place is of no small esteem and interest, for that his power reacheth far, and he tradeth much in *Cacao* and *Cochinil*, and domineers, over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* at his will and pleasure. But ill gotten Goods never thrive, as was seen in *Don Gabriel de Orellana*, (Governour of this City and Country in my time) who having sent the worth of 8000 Crowns in *Cochinil*, *Cacao*, Sugar, and Hides by the River of *Tabasco*, towards, the *Havana* lost it all into the hands of the *Hollanders*, who doubtless knew how to make better use of it, than would have done that tyrannizing Governour. The

Bishops

Bishops Place of that City is worth at least 8000 Ducats a Year which truly he had need of, that comes so far from *Spain* to live in such a City where are such able *Dons*, as *Don Melchior de Velasco*, and where Asses are so freely fed and bred. Most of this Bishops Revenues consist in great Offerings which he yearly receives from the great *Indian Towns*, going to them once a year to confirm their Children, whose confirmation is such a means to confirm and strengthen the Bishops Revenues, that none must be confirm'd who offer not a fair white Wax-Candle, with a Ribbon and at least four Rials. I have seen the Richer sort offer a Candle at least Six Pound Weight with two Yards of twelve-peny Broad Ribbon, the Candle stuck from Top to Bottom with Single Rials round about. Nay the Poor *Indians* make it the Master-piece of their Vanity to offer Proudly in such occasions. *Don Bernardino de Salazar* was the Bishop of this City in my time, who desir'd my Company to ride with him his Circuit but one month, about the Towns near *Chiapa*, and then I was appointed by him to hold the Bason wherein the *Spaniards* and *Indians* (whilst he confirm'd their Children) cast their Offerings, which my self and another Chaplain did always tell and cast up by good account before we carried the mony up into his Chamber, and I found at our return at the Months end, he had receiv'd 1600 Ducats of only Offerings, besides the fees due to him for visiting the several Companies, or Sodalties and Confraternities belonging to the Saints or Souls in their Purgatory (which are Extraordinary Rich there) whereof he and all other Bishops in their District take account yearly. This Bishop was (as all the rest are there) somewhat covetous, but otherwise a Man of temperate Life and Conversation, very zealous to reform whatever Abuses were committed in the Church, which cost him his Life before I departed from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*. The Women of that City, pretend much Weakness and Squeamishness of Stomach, which they say is so great, that

Q 3

they

they are not able to continue in the Church while the Mass is huddl'd over, much less while a solemn high Mass (as they call it) is sung, and a Sermon preach'd, unless they drink a Cup of hot Chocolate, and eat a bit of sweet-meats to strengthen their Stomachs, For this purpose they were wont to make their Maids bring them to Church in the middle of Mass or Sermon a cup of Chocolate, which could not be done to all, or most of them without great Confusion, and interrupting both Mass and Sermon. The Bishop perceiving this Abuse and having given fair Warning against it, but without Amendment, thought fit to fix in Writing on the Church-Doors an excommunication against all such as should presume at the time of Service to eat or drink in the Church. This excommunication was taken by all, but especially by the Gentlewomen, much to heart, who protested if they might not eat or drink in the Church, they could not continue in it to hear what otherwise they were bound to. The chief of them knowing what great Friendship there was between the Bishop and the Prior, and my self, came to the Prior and me, desiring us to use all means we could with the Bishop for revoking his Excommunication so heavily laid on them, and threatening their Souls with Damnation for the Violation of it. The good Prior and my self Labour'd all we could, alledging the Custom of the Country, the weakness of the Sex whom it most concern'd, also the weakness of their Stomachs, the Contempt that might thence ensue to his Person, and many Inconveniences which might follow to the breeding of an uproar in the Church and City, whereof we had some probable Conjecture from what already we had heard. But none of these Reasons would move the Bishop, to which he answer'd that he prefer'd the honour of God, and of his House before his own Life. The Women seeing him inexorable, began to stomach him the more and to slight him with scornful and reproachful Words; others slighted his Excommunication, drinking in Iniquity in the Church, as the
Fifth

Fish doth Water; which caused one day such an uproar in the Cathedral, that many Swords were drawn against the Priests and Prebendaries, who attempted to take away from the maids the Chocolat, which they brought to their mistresses; who at last seeing neither Fair nor Foul means would prevail with the Bishop, resolv'd to forsake the Cathedral, where the Bishops own and his Prebendaries eyes must needs be watching over them, and from that time most of the City betook themselves to the Cloister-Churches, where by the Nuns and Friers they were not troubl'd, though fairly counselled to obey the command of the Bishop; whose name now they could not brook, and to whose Prebendaries they deny'd now all such Stipends for Masses which formerly they had used to bestow on them, conferring them all on the Friers, who grew Rich by the poor impoverish'd Cathedral. This lasted not long, but the Bishop began to stomach the Friers, and to set up another Excommunication, binding all the City to resort to their Cathedral; which the Women would not obey, but kept their Houses for a whole Month; in which time the Bishop fell Dangerously sick, and desir'd to retire to the Cloister of *Dominicans*, for the great confidence he had in the Prior that he would take care of him in his sickness. Physicians were sent for far and near, who all with a joynt Opinion agreed that the Bishop was poyson'd; and he himself doubt'd not of it at his death, praying God to forgive those that had been the Cause of it, and to accept of that Sacrifice of his Life, which he was willing to offer for the Zeal of Gods House and Honour. He lay not above a Week in the Cloister, and as soon as he was Dead, all his Body, Head and face did so swell, that the least touch on any part of him caused the Skin to break, and cast out white Matter, which had corrupted and overflown all his Body. A Gentile Woman with whom I was well acquainted in that City, who was noted to be somewhat too Familiar with one of the Bishops Pages, was commonly censur'd to have prescribed such a Cup of Chocolat to be ministred by the Page,

which poison'd him who so rigorously had forbidden Choeolat to be drunk in the Church. My self heard this Gentlewoman say of the deceased Bishop, that she thought few griev'd for his Death, and that the Women had no reason to grieve for him, and that she judg'd, he being such an Enemy to Chocolat in the Church, that which he had drunk at home had not agreed with his body. And it became afterwards a Proverb in that Country, Beware of Chocolat of *Chiapa*; which made me so cautious, that I would not drink afterwards of it in any House, where I had not very great satisfaction of the whole Family. The Women of this City are somewhat light in their Carriage, and have learn'd from the Devil many enticing Lessons and Baits to draw poor Souls to Sin and Damnation; and if they cannot have their Wills, they surely Work Revenge by Chocolat or Conserve, or some fair Present, which shall carry death along with it. The Gentle-woman that was suspected (nay was question'd for the Death of the Bishop) had often used to send me boxes of Chocolat or Conserve; which I willingly receiv'd from her, judging it to be a kind of Gratuity for the Pains I took in teaching her Son *Latin*; she was of a very merry and pleasant Disposition, which I thought might consist without Sin; till one day she sent me a very fair Plantin wrapt up in a Handkerchief, buried in sweet Jasmims and Roses; when I untied the Handkerchief, I thought among the Flowers I should find some Rich Token, or some Pieces of Eight, but finding nothing but a Plantin, I wondred; and looking further on it, I found worked upon it with a Knife the fashion of a Heart with two blind *Cupid's* Arrows sticking in it, discovering the poison'd Heart and Thought of the Person that sent it. I thought it a good Warning to be cautious of receiving more Presents or Chocolat from such Hands, and so return'd her again her plantin, with this short Rime cut out with a knife on the Skin, *fruta tam fria, Amar no cria*, as much as to say, Fruit so cold, takes no hold. This Answer and Resolution of mine

mine was soon spread over that little City, which made my Gentle-woman outrageous, which presently she shew'd by taking away her Son from School, and in many Meetings threatn'd to play me a *Chiapaneca* trick. But I remembred the Bishops Chocolat, and so was wary, and stay'd not long after in that poisoning and wicked City, which truly deserves no better Relation than what I have given of the simple *Dons*, and the Chocolat-confectioning *Donna's*.

There is yet twelve leagues from this City of *Chiapa*, another *Chiapa* which deserves better commendations. This consists most of *Indians*, and is held to be one of the biggett *Indian Towns* in all *America*, containing at least 4000 Families. This Town has many privileges from the King of *Spain*, and is govern'd chiefly by *Indians* (with Subordination to the *Spanish* Government of *Chiapa*) who choose an *Indian* Governour with inferiour Officers to rule with him. This Governour may wear a Rapier and Dagger, and enjoys many other Liberties which other *Indians* are denied. No Town hath so many *Dons* in it of *Indian* Blood as this. *Don Philip de Guzman* was Governour of it in my time, a very Rich *Indian*, who kept commonly in his Stable a dozen as good Horses for publick Shew, and Ostentation as the best *Spaniard* in the Country. His courage was not inferiour to any *Spaniard*, and for defence of some Privileges of his Town sued in the Chancery of *Guatemala* the proud and high minded Governour of *Chiapa*, spending therein great Sums of Money till he had overcome him, whereupon he caused a Feast to be made in the Town, both by Water and Land, so stately, that truly in the Court of *Madrid* it might have been acted.

This Town lyes upon a great River, whereto belong many Boats and Canoes, wherein those *Indians* have been taught to act Sea-Fights, with great Dexterity, and to represent the Nymphs of *Parnassus*, *Neptune* *Æolus*, and the rest of the Heathenish Gods and Goddesses, so that they are a Wonder of their whole Nation. They will arm
with

with their Boats a Siege of a Town, Fighting against it with such courage till they make it yield, as if they had been train'd up all their Life to Sea-Fights. So likewise within the Town they are as dexterous at bairing of Bulls, at *Juego de Cannas*, at Horse-races, at arming a Camp, at all manner of *Spanish* Dances, Instruments, and musick, as the best *Spaniards*. They will erect Towers and Castles made of Wood and painted Cloth, and from them fight either with the Boats, or one against another, with Squibs, Darts, and many strange Fire-works, so manfully, that if in earnest they could perform it as well as they do it in Sport and Pastime, the *Spaniards* and Friers might soon repent to have taught them what they have. As for acting of Plays, this is a common part of their solemn Pastimes; and they are so Generous, that they think nothing too much to spend in Banquets and Sweet-meats upon their Friers, and neighbouring Towns, whensoever they are minded to shew themselves in a Publick Feast. The Town is very Rich, and many *Indians* in it Trade about the Country as the *Spaniards* do. They have learn'd most Trades befitting a Commonwealth, and practise and teach them within their Town. They want not any Provision of Fish or Flesh, having for the one that great River joyning to their Town, and for the other many *Estantia's* (as they call them) or Farms abounding with Cattel. Here the Dominicans bear all the sway, who have a Rich and stately Cloister with another Church or Chappel subordinate to it. The Heat here is so great, that both Friers and *Indians* commonly wear a Linnen Towel about their Necks to wipe off the constant Sweat from their Faces, which makes the Friers sit longer at Dinner than else they would do, for that at every Bit and Draught, they are fain to stop to wipe their dropping Brows. Yet the Evenings are fresh and cool, which are much made of there, and spent in the many Walks and Gardens whichjoyn close to the River-side. Two or three Leagues from the Town, there are two *Ingenio's* or Farms of Sugar, one belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans

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minicans of the City of *Chiapa*; the other to the Cloister of this Town, which contain near two hundred Blackmores, beside many *Indians*, who are imploy'd in that constant work of making Sugar for all the Country. Hereabouts are bred great store of Mules, and excellent Horses for any service. The Town of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and all the Towns about it want nothing but a more temperate Climate and cooler Air, and Wheat, which there cannot be sown; yet for *Spaniards* and such as cannot live without it, it is brought from *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards* and from about *Comatilan*; yet this is not generally acknowledg'd a Want, by reason of the great Plenty of *Maiz* which all the Towns enjoy, and which is now more used both by *Spaniards* and dainty tooth'd Friers than Bread of Wheat. Yet your poor *Spaniards*, and some *Indians* who have got the trick of trading from them do gain not a little in bringing to these Towns, Biskets of Wheaten Bread, which though it be dry and hard, yet because they are novelties to the *Indians*; they get by changing them for other Commodities, especially of Cotton-wool, which here is more abounding than in the Valley of *Copanabastlan*.

Upon this Country of *Chiapa* of the *Indians* Bor des the Province of *Zoques*, which is absolutely the richest part of *Chiapa*. This reaches on the one side to *Tabasco*, and by the River nam'd *Grijalva* sends commonly the Commodities which are in it with safety to *St. John de Ulbua*, or *Vera Cruz*. It traffiques also with the Country of *Jucatan* by the Haven call'd *Puerto Real*, which lyes between *Grijalva* and *Jucatan*. Yet these two, the River of *Tabasco*, alias *Grijalva*, and *Puerto Real*, though they be commodious to this Province of *Zoques*, yet they are causes of dayly Fears to the *Spaniards*, who well know the Weakness of them, and that if a forain Nation should manfully thrust into that Country by any of these two ways, they might so conquer all *Chiapa*, and from thence pass easily to *Guatemala*. But the River of *Tabasco* lying low, and being somewhat hot,
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and the Towns about it infested with Gnats, and the chiefest Commodity there being but *Cacao*; have often discourag'd both our *English* and *Hollanders*, who have come up some part of the River, and minding more the foresaid reasons, than what was forward to be had, have turn'd back, losing a Rich Country and slighting an eternal name, for few and frivolous present Difficulties. In this Province of *Zoques*, the Towns are not very big, yet they be very Rich; the chief Commodities are Silk and *Cochinil*; whereof the latter is held the best of *America*, and the store of it so great that no one Province exceeds it. Few *Indians* there are who have not their Orchards planted with the Trees whereon the Worms breed which yield us that rich Commodity; not that the *Indians* themselves esteem otherwise of it, than as they see the *Spaniards* Greedy after it, offering them Money for it, and forcing them to Preserve it in those Parts, which have prov'd most Successful for this kind. There is great store of Silk in this Country, so that the *Indians* make it their great Commodity to Employ their Wives in working Towels with all colours of Silk, which the *Spaniards* buy, and send to *Spain*. It is rare to see what Works those *Indian* Women will make in Silk, such as will serve for Patterns and Samplers to many School-mistresses in *England*. The People of this Country are Witty and Ingenious, and Fair of Complexion; the Country towards *Tabasco* is hot, but within in some places very cold. There is also Plenty of *Maiz*, but no *Wheat*; neither is there such Plenty of Cattel as about *Chiapa*, but Fowls and Turkies as many as in other parts. The Province called *Zeldales* lyes behind this of the *Zoques*, from the North-Sea within the Continent running up towards *Chiapa*, and reaches in some parts near the borders of *Comatitlan* North-West. South-eastward it joyns to such *Indians* who as yet have not been conquer'd by the *Spaniards*, who make many Invasions on the Christian *Indians*, and burn their Towns, and carry away their Cattel,

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Cattel. The chief Town in this Province is call'd *Ococingo*, which is a Frontier against those Heathens. This Province is esteem'd Rich by the *Spaniards*, who make much of *Cacao*, which serves to make their *Chocolatte*, and here is great store of it. There is, also another Commodity, great among the *Spaniards*, call'd *Achiotte*, wherewith they make their *Chocolatte* look of the colour of a brick. Here is also Plenty of Hogs and Bacon, Fowls, Turkies, Quails, Cattel, Sheep, Maiz, Hony, and not far from *Ococingo*, in my time was setting up an Ingenio, or Farm of Sugar, which was thought would prove as well as those about *Chiapa* of the *Indians*. The Country in most parts is high and hilly; but *Ococingo*, stands in a pleasant Valley, enjoying many Brooks and Streams of Fresh Water, and therefore hath been thought a fit Place for Sugar. Here also in this Valley the Friers have attempted to sow Wheat, which has proved very Good. Thus, Reader I have shew'd you the Country of *Chiapa*, which as it is compass'd about on the one side by *Soconuzco*, and from thence almost to *Guatemala*, by the Province of *Suchutepeques*, on the other side by *Tabasco*, and on the other side by *Zeldales* with excessive Plenty of *Cacao* and *Achiotte*, which are the chief Drugs for the making of *Chocolatte*; I will yet before I depart from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*, say somewhat of that Drink so much us'd by the *Spaniards*, and in my Judgement not to be sleighted, but rather to be Publish'd and made known to all Nations, whose Use might remedy the great abuse of Wines and Strong Drinks which too much are esteem'd among us here in *Europe*.

C H A P. XVI.

Concerning two daily and common Drinks, or Portions much used in the India's, called Chocolate, and Atole.

Chocolate being now used not only over all the *West-India's*, but also in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, with approbation of many learned Doctors in Physick, among whom *Antonio Colmenero of Ledesma* (who lived once in the *India's*) hath composed a learned and curious Treatise concerning the Nature and Quality of this Drink; I thought fit to insert here also somewhat of it concerning my own Experience for twelve years. This name *Chocolate* is an *Indian* name, and is compounded from *Atte*, as some say; or as others, *Atle*, which in the *Mexican* language signifieth Water, and from the sound which the water (wherein is put the Chocolate) makes, as *Choco*, *Choco*, *Choco*, when it is stirred in a Cup by an Instrument call'd a *Molinet*, or *Mollino*, till it bubble and rise to Froth. And as there it is a Name compounded so in *English* we may well call it a compounded or a confection'd Drink, wherein are found many and several Ingredients, according to the different Disposition of the Bodies of them that use it. But the chief Ingredient (without which it cannot be made) is call'd *Cacao*, a kind of Nut or Kernel bigger than a great Almond, which grows on a Tree call'd the Tree of *Cacao*, and ripens in a great Husk, wherein sometimes are found more, sometimes less *Cacao's*, sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, nay forty and above. This *Cacao*, though, as every Simple, it contains the Quality of the four Elements, yet in the common Opinion of Physicians, it is held to be cold and dry, *à predominio*; It is also in the Substance that rules there

two

two Qualities, refringent and obstructive, of the Nature of the Element of the earth. And as it is thus a mixed, and not a Simple Element, it hath parts correspondent to the rest of the Elements; and particularly it partakes of those which correspond with the Element of Air, that is, heat and moisture, which are Governed by unctuous parts; there being drawn out of the *Cacao* much Butter, which in the *India's* I have seen drawn out of it by the *Criolian* Women for to oint their Faces. And let not this seem impossible to believe, that this grain or Nut of *Cacao* should be said to be first cold and dry, and then hot and moist; for though Experience be 1000 witnesses, yet instances will further clear this truth; and first in the *Rubarb*, which hath in it hot and soluble parts, and parts which are binding, cold and dry, which have a Virtue to strengthen, bind and stop the looseness of the belly. Secondly, we see this clearly in the steel, which having so much of the Nature of the earth, as being heavy, thick, cold, and dry, should be thought improper for the curing of *Oppilations*, but rather to be apt to increase them; and yet it is given for a proper remedy against them. The Authority of *Galen* may further clear this in the third book of the Qualities of Simple, where he teacheth that almost all those medicines, which to our Sense seem to be Simple, are notwithstanding naturally compounded, containing in themselves contrary qualities, that is to say, a Quality to expel and to retain, to incrassate and to extenuate, to rarifie and to condense. And in the fifteenth Chapter following in the same book, he puts an Example of the broth of a Cock, which moves the Belly, and the Flesh hath the Virtue to bind. Yet further that this differing Virtue and Quality is found in divers substances, or parts of Simple Medicaments, he shews in the first book of his Simple Medicines in the seventeenth Chapter, bringing the example of milk, in which three substances are found and separated, that is to say, the Substance of Cheese, which hath the Virtue to stop the flux of the belly; and the Substance of Whey, which is Purging, and Butter, as it is express'd, Chap. 15. Also we find in
Wine

Wine which is in the Must, three substances, that is to say, earth, which is the chief, and a thinner substance, which is the Flower and may be call'd the Scum or froth; and a third substance which we Properly call Wine; and every one of these substances contains in it self divers qualities and virtues, in the colour, in the smell, and in other Accidents.

And this is very conformable to reason, if we consider that every Element, be it never so simple, begets and produceth in the liver four Humours, not only differing in temper, but also in substance; and begets more or less of that Humour, according as the Element hath more or fewer parts corresponding to the substance of that Humour, which is most ingendred. From which Examples we may gather, that when the *Cacao* is grinded and stirr'd, the divers parts which nature hath given it, do artificially and intimately mix themselves one with another; and so the unctious, warm and moist parts mingled with the earthy represseth, and leaveth them not binding as they were before; but rather with a mediocrity, more inclining to the warm and moist temper of the air, than to the cold and dry of the earth; as it doth appear, when it is made fit to drink, that scarce two turns are given with the Molinet, when there ariseth a fatty scum, by which is seen, how much it Partaketh of the oily part. So that from all that hath been said, the error of those is well discover'd, who speaking of this drink of *Chocolatte*, say, that it causeth oppilations, because *Cacao* is astringent; as if that attrition were not corrected and modified by the intimate mixing of one part with another, by means of the grinding, as is said before. Besides it having so many ingredients, which are naturally hot, it must of necessity have this Effect, that is to say, to open attenuate, and not to bind. And laying aside more reasons, this truth is evidently seen in the *Cacao* it self; which if it be not stirred, grinded and compounded to make the *Chocolatte*; but be eaten as it is in the Fruit (as many *Criollian* and *Indian* women eat it) it doth notably obstruct and cause stoppings, and make them look of a broken, pale and earthy

earthy colour, as do those that eat earthen ware, as pot^s or pieces of lime-walls (which is much us'd amongst the *Spanish* women, thinking that a pale and earthly colour, though with obstructions and stoppings, well becomes them) and for this certainly in the *Cacao* thus eaten there is no other reason, but that the divers substances which it contains, are not perfectly mingled by the mastications only, but require the artificial mixture, which we have spoken of before.

The Tree which doth bear this Fruit, is so delicate, and the earth where it groweth so extream hot, that to keep the three from being consumed by the Sun, they first plant other Trees, which they call, *las Madres del Cacao*; mothers of the *Cacao*; and when these are grown up to a good height fit to shade the *Cacao* Trees, then they plant the *Cacaotals*, or the Trees of *Cacao*; that when they first shew themselves above the Ground those trees, which are already grown may shelter them, and as mothers nourish, defend, and shadow them from the Sun; and the Fruit doth not grow naked, but many of them (as I have said before) are in one great husk or cod, and therein besides every grain is clos'd up in a white juicy skin, which the women also love to suck off from the *Cacao*, finding it cool, and in the mouth dissolving into Water. There are two sorts of *Cacao*; the one is common, which is of a dark colour inclining towards red, being round and pick'd at the ends; the other is broader, and bigger, and flatter, and not so round, which they call, *Patlaxte*, and this is white, and more drying, and is sold a great deal cheaper than the former. And this especially, more than the other causeth watchfulness, and drives away sleep, and therefore is not so useful as the Ordinary, and is chiefly spent by the Ordinary and meaner sort of People. As for the rest of the ingredients which make this *Chocolattical* confection, there is notable variety; for some put into it black Pepper, which is not well approv'd of by the Physicians, because it is so hot and dry, but only for one who hath a very cold liver; but commonly instead of this Pep-

per they put into it long red Pepper, call'd Chile, which though it be hot in the mouth, yet is cool and moist in the operation. It is further compounded with white Sugar, Cinamon, Cloves, Anniseed, Almonds, Hasel-nuts, *Orejuela*, *Bainilla*, *Sapoyal*, Orange Flower Water, some Musk, and as much of Achiotte, as will make it look of the colour of a red brick. But how much of each of these may be apply'd to such a Quantity of *Cacao*, the several dispositions of Mens Bodies must be their rule. The Ordinary receipt of *Antonio Colmenero* was this; To every hundred *Cacao*'s, two cods of Chile, call'd long red Pepper, one handful of Anniseed and *Orejuela*'s, and two of the Flowers call'd *Mechafuchil*, or *Bainilla*, or instead of this six roses of *Alexandria*, beat to powder, two drams of Cinamon, of Almonds and Hasel-nuts, of each one dozen; of white Sugar half a pound, of Achiotte, enough to give it the colour. This Author thought neither Clove, nor Musk, nor any sweet water fit, but in the *India*'s they are much us'd. Others use to put in Maiz, or *Paniso*, which is very windy, but such do it only for their profit, by increasing the quantity of Chocolate; because every fanga or measure of Maiz containing about a bushel and a half is sold for eight Shillings, and they that sell Chocolate, sell it for four Shillings a pound, which is the Ordinary Price. The Cinamon is held one of the best ingredients and denied by none, for that it is hot and dry in the third degree, it provokes Urine, and helps the kidneys and reins of those who are troubl'd with cold diseases, and it is good for the eyes, and in Effect it is cordial, as appeareth by the Author of these verses,

*Commoda & urinæ Cinamonum & renibus affert,
Lumina clarificat, dira venena fugat.*

The Achiotte hath a piercing, attenuating quality, as appeareth by the common practice of the Physicians of the *India*'s, experienced daily in the effects of it, who do give it to their Patients to cut and attenuate the gross humours,

which

which do cause shortness of breath, and stopping of Urine; and so it is us'd for any kind of oppilations, and is given for the stoppings which are in the breast, or in the region of the Belly or any other part of the Body. This *Achiotte* also groweth upon a Tree in round Husks, which are full of red grains, from whence the *Achiotte* is taken, and first made into a Paste, and then being dried up, is fashion'd either into round balls or cakes, or into the form of little bricks, and so is sold. As concerning the long red Pepper there are four sorts of it; one is call'd *Chilchotes*; the other is very little, which they call *Chilterpin*, and these two kinds are very quick and biting. The other two are call'd, *Tonalchiles*, and these are but moderately hot, for they are eaten with Bread by the *Indians*, as they eat other Fruits. But that which is usually put into Chocolate, call'd *Chilpaclagua*, which hath a broad husk, and is not so biting as the first, nor so gentle as the last. The *Mechasuchil*, or *Bainilla* hath a purgative quality. All these ingredients are usually put into the Chocolate, and by some more, according to their fancies. But the meaner sort of people, as *Blackmoors* and *Indians*, commonly put nothing into it but *Cacao*, *Achiotte*, *Maiz*, and a few *Chiles* with a little Anniseed. And though the *Cacao* is mingl'd with all these ingredients, which are hot; yet there is to be a greater Quantity of *Cacao*, than of all the rest of the ingredients, which serve to temper the coldness of the *Cacao*; from whence it followeth that this Chocolatical confection is not so cold as the *Cacao*, nor so hot as the rest of the ingredients, but there results from the Action and reaction of these ingredients, a moderate temper, which may be good both for the cold and hot stomachs, being taken moderately.

Now for the making or compounding of this drink, I shall set down here the method. The *Cacao*, and the other ingredients must be beaten in a mortar of stone, or (as the *Indians* use) ground upon a broad stone, which they call *Metate*, and is only made for that use. But first the ingredients are all to be dried, except the *Achiotte*, with care that they may be beaten to powder, keeping them

still in stirring, that they be not burnt or become black ; for if they be over-dried, they will be bitter and lose their Virtue. The Cinnamon and the long red Pepper are to be first beaten with the Anniseed, and then the *Cacao*, which must be beaten by little and little, till it be all powdered ; and in the beating it must be turn'd round, that it may mix the better. Every one of these ingredients must be beaten by it self, and then all be put into the Vessel, where the *Cacao* is, which you must stir together with a Spoon, and then take out that Paste, and put it into the mortar, under which there must be a little Fire, after the confection is made, but if more Fire be put under than will only warm it, the unctuous part will dry away. The *Achiotte* also must be put in in the beating, that it may the better take the colour. All the ingredients must be sear'd, save only the *Cacao*, and if from the *Cacao* the dry shell be taken, it will be the better. When it is well beaten and incorporated (which will be known by the shortness of it) then with a Spoon (so in the *India's* is us'd) is taken up some of the paste, which will be almost liquid, and made into Tablets, or else without a Spoon put into Boxes, and when it is cold it will be hard. Those that make it into Tablets, put a spoon full of the paste upon a piece of Paper (the *Indians* put it upon the leaf of a plantin Tree) where, being put into the shade (for in the Sun it melts and dissolves) it grows hard ; and then bowing the paper or leaf the Tablet falls off, by reason of the fatness of the paste. But if it be put into any thing of earth, or Wood, it sticks fast, and will not come off, but with scraping or breaking. The manner of drinking it, is divers ; the one (being the way most us'd in *Mexico*) is to take it hot with Atolle, dissolving a Tablet in hot Water, and then stirring and beating it in the Cup where it is to be drunk, with a Molinet, and when it is well stirr'd to a scum or froth, then to fill the cup with hot Atolle, and so drink it sup by sup. Another way is, that the Chocolatte being dissolv'd with cold Water and stirr'd with the Molinet, and the scum taken off and put into another Vessel ; the remainder be set upon the Fire,

Fire, with as much Sugar as will sweeten it, and when it is warm, then to pour it upon the scum which was taken off before, and so to drink it. But the most Ordinary way is, to warm the Water very hot, and then to pour out half the cup full that you mean to drink; and to put into it a Tablet or two, or as much as will thicken reasonably the Water, and then grind it well with the Molinet, and when it is well ground and risen to a scum, to fill the cup with hot Water, and so drink it by Sups (having sweetned it with Sugar) and to eat it with a little Conserve, or maple bread, steep'd into the Chocolate. Besides these ways there is another way (which is much us'd in the Island of *Santo Domingo*) which is to put the Chocolate into a pipkin, with a little Water, and to let it boil well till it be dissolv'd, and then to put in sufficient Water and Sugar according to the Quantity of Chocolate, and then to boil it again, until there comes an oily scum upon it, and then to drink it. There is another way yet to drink Chocolate, which is cold, which the *Indians* use at fasts, to refresh themselves, and it is made after this manner. The Chocolate (which is made with none or very few ingredients) being dissolv'd in cold Water with the Molinet, they take off the Scum or crassy part, which riseth in great Quantity, especially when the *Cacao* is Older and more putrified. The Scum they lay aside in a little Dish by it self, and then put Sugar into that part from whence was taken the Scum, and then pour it from on high into the Scum, and so drink it cold. And this Drink is so cold, that it agreeth not with all Mens Stomachs; for by Experience it hath been found, that it doth hurt, by causing pains in the Stomach, especially to Women. The third way of taking it is the most us'd, and thus certainly it doth not hurt, neither know I why it may not be used as well in *England* as in other parts both hot and cold; for where it is so much used, the most if not all, as well in the *India's*, as in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders* (which is a cold Country) find that it agreeth well with them. True it is, it is used more in the *India's*,

than in the *European* parts, because there the Stomachs are more apt to faint than here, and a Cup of Chocolate well confectioned comforts and strengthens the Stomach. For my self I must say, I used it twelve years constantly, Drinking one Cup in the morning, another yet before Dinner between nine or ten of the clock; another within an hour or two after Dinner, and another between four and five in the afternoon; and when I was purpos'd to sit up late to study, I would take another Cup about seven or eight at night, which would keep me waking till about midnight. And if by chance I did neglect any of these accustomed hours, I presently found my stomach fainty. And with this custom I lived 12 years in those parts healthy, without any obstructions, or oppilations, not knowing what either Ague or Feaver was. Yet will I not dare to regulate by mine own, the Bodies of others, nor take upon me the skill of a Physician, to appoint and define at what time and by what persons this Drink may be used. Only I say, I have known some that have been the worse for it, either for Drinking it with too much Sugar, which hath relaxed their Stomachs, or for Drinking it too often. For certainly if it be drunk beyond measure, not only this Chocolate but all other drinks, or meats, though of themselves they are good and wholesom, they may be hurtful. And if some have found it oppilative, it hath come by the too too much use of it; as when one drinks over much wine, instead of comforting and warming himself, he breeds and nourisheth cold diseases, because nature cannot overcome it, nor turn so great a Quantity into good nourishment. So he that drinks much Chocolate, which hath fat parts, cannot make distribution of so great a Quantity to all the parts; and that part which remains in the slender veins of the liver must needs cause oppilations and obstructions. But lastly to conclude with this *Indian* drink, I will add what I have heard Physicians of the *India's* say of it, and have seen it by experience in others (though never I could find it in my self) that those that use this Chocolate much, grow

grow fat and Corpulent by it : which indeed may seem hard to believe; for considering that all the ingredients, except the *Cacao*, do rather extenuate, than make fat, because they are hot and dry in the third degree. And we have already said, that the Qualities which do predominate in *Cacao*, are cold and dry, which are very unfit to add any Substance to the Body. Nevertheless it may be answered that the many unctuous parts, which have been prov'd to be in the *Cacao*, are those which pinguefie and make fat; and the hotter ingredients of this composition serve for a Guide, or vehicle to pass to the liver, and the other parts, till they come to the fleshy parts; and there finding a like Substance which is hot and moist, as is the unctuous part, converting it self into the same substance, it doth augment and pinguefie. But how then might this *Cacao* with the other *Indian* ingredients be had in *England*? even by trading in *Spain* for it, as we do for other Commodities; or not sleighting it so much as we and the *Hollanders* have often done upon the *Indian* seas; of whom I have heard the *Spaniards* say that when we have taken a good prize, a Ship laden with *Cacao*, in anger and wrath we have hurl'd over board this good Commodity, not regarding the worth and goodness of it, but calling it in bad *Spain*, *Cagaruta de Carnero*, or Sheeps Dung in good *English*. It was one of the necessariest commodities in the *India's*, and nothing enriches *Chiapa* in particular more than it, whither are brought from *Mexico* and other parts, the Rich Bags of Patacons, only for this *Cagaruta de Carnero*, which we call Sheeps Dung. The other Drink much us'd in the *India's* is call'd *Atolle*, of which I will say but a little, because I know it cannot be us'd here. This was the Drink of the ancient *Indians*, and is a thick Pap made of the Flour of Maiz, taking off the Husk from it, which is windy and Melancholy. This is commonly carried by the *Indian* Women to the Market hot in pots, and there is sold in cups. The *Criolian* Students, as we go to a Tavern to Drink a cup of Wine, so they go in Company to the Publick Markets,

and as publickly buy and drink by measure of this *Atolle*, which sometimes is seasoned with a little Chile, or long Pepper, and then it pleaseth them best. But the Nuns and Gentlewomen have got a trick of confectioning it with Cinnamon, Sweet-waters, Amber, or Musk, and store of Sugar, and thus it is held to be a most strong and nourishing drink, which the Physicians do prescribe unto a weak body, as we do here our Almond-milk. But of what *England* never knew nor tasted, I will say no more, but hasten my pen to *Guatemala*, which hath been my second *patria*.

C H A P. XVII.

Shewing my Journey from the City of Chia pa, unto Guatemala, and the chief places in the way.

THe time now being come that I was to leave the little City of *Chiapa*, I took some occasion before-hand to take my leave of my best friends, whose children I had taught, and at my departure I must confess I found them kind and bountiful, except it were *Donna Magdalena de Morales*, from whom I did not expect, neither did I desire any farewell, or adieu token. But among all, the Governours wife was most liberal unto me, sending me many boxes of Aromatical Chocholatte, and one extraordinary great box with four several divisions of different Conserves gilt over, besides many Maple breads, and Biskets made with Eggs and Sugar, a present it was which might have been sent to a greater man than to a poor worthless Mendicant Fryer, and with this in a handkerchief a dozen Pieces of Eight. *Don Melchior de Velazco* yet exceeded her, in words and complements, I mean, but in deeds, he and all the crew of the *Cioli*ans must think to come short of them

them who are born in *Spain*. The first Town I went unto was *Theopixca* six leagues from *Chiapa*, a fair and great Town of *Indians*, who are held to be next unto the *Indians* of the other *Chiapa* in sitting and riding a horse. In this Town is nothing so considerable as the Church, which is great and strong, and the musick belonging unto it sweet and harmonious. The Vicar or Curate of this place was one Fryer *Peter Martyr* a *Criolian*, whom I knew could not endure the Prior nor me, yet he would dissemble a love complemental exceeding well, and in outward shews raise it up to *gradus ut octo*. He knowing my prevalency with the Prior, durst not but give me very good entertainment which continued two days, until I was weary of his complements.

The third day I took my leave of him, who would not yet leave me, but would conduct me to *Comitlan*, whither I was invited by the Prior of that Cloister, named Fryer *Thomas Rocolano* a *French* man, who being a stranger to the *Spaniards* (for besides him and my self there was no other stranger in that Country) desired acquaintance with me, which he began to settle by meeting me at the half way with many *Indians* on Horse-back, having provided an harbour where we might more conveniently confer and rest while our *Chocolatte* and other refreshments were provided. But the *Criolian* *Peter Martyr* was not a little envious, (as I was afterwards informed in the Cloister) to see me so much made of and esteemed in the Country, yet his fair words and complements far exceeded the sincerity and down-rightness of my *French* friend. At *Comitlan* I stay'd a whole week, riding about with the Prior unto the *Indian* Towns, and down the hill to the valley of *Copanabastla*, where I enjoy'd much pastime and recreation among the Fryers and *Indians*, and was feasted after the manner of the Country, which knoweth more of an Epicurean diet than doth *England*, or any part of *Europe*; nay I am perswaded (and I have heard *Spaniards* confess it) that *Spain* hath taken from the *Indians* since the conquest many lessons for the dressing of several dishes and

and compleating a feast or Banquet. After the week was ended my *French* friend the Prior conducted me to *Izquintenango*, to see me well furnished up the Mountains of *Cuchumatlanes*. This Town (as I have formerly observ'd) standeth almost at the end of the Valley of *Copanabastla*, and within two leagues of the *Cuchumatlanes*. It is one of the finest *Indian* Towns of all the Province of *Chiapa*, and very Rich, by Reason of the much Cotton wooll in it, and especially by Reason of its situation; standing in the Road-Way to *Guatemala*, all the Merchants of the Country that trade with their mules that way, pass through this Town, and there buy and sell, enriching it with their mony, and far brought Commodities. It is most plentifully stored with fruits, especially with what they call *Pina's* or Pine fruit. It standeth close by the great River, which runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and hath its spring not far off from the *Cuchumatlanes*, and yet at this Town is very broad and deep. No Man nor beast Travelling to *Guatemala*, can go into it, or from *Guatemala* can go out of it, but by ferrying over. And the Road bring much us'd and beaten by Travellers, and by such as they call *Reguas* of mules (every *Requa* consisting of 50 or threescore mules) this Ferry is day and night imploy'd, and yields much treasure to the Town at the years end. The *Indians* of the Town besides the ferry boat, have made many other little boats, or *Canoa's* to go up and down the River. Hither when the Prior of *Comitan* had brought me, we were waited for by the Vicar or Fryer of that Town with the chief and principal *Indians*, and most of the *Canoa's*. As we ferryed over the little *Canoa's* went before us with the *Queristers* of the Church singing before us, and with others sounding their Waits and Trumpets. The Fryer that lived in this Town was call'd Fryer *Hieronymo de Guevara*, little in stature, but great in state, pride and vanity, as he shewed himself in what he had provided for us both of Fish and Flesh. A brave Professor or vower of Mendicancy and poverty he was, who in twelve years that he had lived in the Town, what by mumming
or

of Masses for the dead and living, what by shearing and fleecing the poor *Indians*, what by trading and trafficking with the Merchants that used that Road, had got six hundred Duckats, which he had sent to *Spain* to the Court of *Madrid*, to trade with them Simoniacally for the Bishoprick of *Chiapa*, which if he obtained not, (yet when I came out of the Country the report went that he had obtained it) he would and was well able with a second supply to obtain a better. After two days feasting with him, he and the Prior of *Comitlan* both joyned their Power and Authority to see me well manned with *Indians* to the first Town of the *Cuchumatlanes*. A Mule was prepared to carry my bedding, (which we commonly carryed with us in chests of leather call'd *Petaca's*) another *Indian* to carry my *Petaquilla* wherein was my Chocolate and all implements to make it; and three more *Indians* to ride before and behind to guide me; but to all these nothing was to be paid, (lest a custom of paying should be brought in, for so they doctined me as a novice in that Country,) except it were to give them a Cup of Chocolate if I drank in the way, or when I came to my journeys end. Here I took my leave of my good *French* friend, (who yet continued friendship with me by frequent letters to *Guatemala*) and of my low but high minded *Guevara*, who bad me expect no friendly entertainment, until I were well passed over the *Cuchumatlanes* and arrived at *Sacapula*, which was four days journey from thence. Yet he told me I might demand what service I list from the *Indians*, and call for what I had a mind to eat without paying any money so that I did write down my expences in the common Town Book.

Thus I went away from my friends somewhat heavy, having no other company but unkown *Indians*, leaving a pleasant and delightfom valley behind me, and seeing nothing before me but high and steepy hills and mountains, and considering that in four or five days I should see no more gallant *Dominicans* and of mine own
 profes-

profession. Now I wished I had the company of my *Melendez* and other friends, who were a comfort one to another upon the hills and rocks of *Maquilapa*. Yet at last I concluded, up *English* heart and courage, *quodam hec meminisse juvabit*. Though the Mountains seemed high a far off, yet as I travelled on, I found the way lie between them very easie and passable, and met now and then *Requas* of mules, which were no little comfort unto me to consider, if they being heavily laden could go through those Mountains, my Mule that had in me but a light burden would easily overcome any danger; it comforted me also to consider that there were Towns (though but little ones) where I might rest every night. The further I went, the better and more open I found the Road; Only the rain and dirt troubled me, which I could not avoid, it being the end of *September*, or as there they reckon, the end of Winter. The first Town I came to amongst those Mountains was called *St. Martin*, a little Place of some twenty houses. I went to the house that belonged to the *Franciscan Fryers* (who seldom in the year came to that poverty of house and house room) where I lighted and caused the *Indians* to be called, who were appointed to give attendance to travellers and passengers. I found them very tractable and dutiful, bidding me welcome, bringing me hot water for my *Chocolatte*, which I drach off heartily, and gave unto my *Indians* of *Izquintenango*, who refreshed themselves and their mules well for nothing, this being a custom among those Towns in the Road to welcome one another whensoever they come with travellers. I might have had for my supper any thing that place would afford, but I made choice of a Pullet, which I thought would be cheapest for the poor *Indians*. I was glad I had brought with me a good big *Frasco*, as they call it, or bottle of Wine, for I began already to find the *Cuchumatlanes* cooler than the valley of *Copponabastla*. My bed was made in a little thatched Cobe, and *Indian* boys appointed to sleep in the next room to me, and to be at hand if in the night I should want any thing. Thus having appointed
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what attendance I had need of in the morning to the next Town discharging the *Indians* that had brought me from *Izquintenango*, I went unto my rest, which I took as quietly as if I had been in the company of my best friends. The next day being accompanied by two *Indians*, having sent my carriage by another, I took my journey to the next Town, which is call'd *Cuchumatlangrande*, because it standeth on the highest part of those Mountains, and in the way the *Indians* shewed me the head spring or fountain of the great River of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, which is the only remarkable thing in that Road. *Cuchumatlangrande* is a Town a little bigger than *St Martin*, and of *Indians* very courteous, who are used and beaten to daily travellers, and so make very much of them. Here I was entertained as the night before; and found the poor *Indians* willing to give me whatsoever I demanded for my better and safer guiding and conducting the next day, and that night for my supper what I pleased to call for, without any pay, but only writing down my name and expences with the day and month in their common book of accounts. This are those poor wretches brought to by the Fryers and commanding Justices, though of themselves they have no more than a *Milpa* of Maiz as they term it, or a little *Indian* Wheat Plantation, with as much Chile as will suffice them for the year, and what the Merchants and Travellers give them voluntarily, which is little enough. From this Town I would not follow the Road to the next, which was a long journey of seven or eight leagues without baiting by the way; and also because I had been informed at *Chiapa* and at *Copanabastla* of a strange picture of our Lady, which was amongst those Mountains in a little Town of *Indians* call'd *Chiantla*, which in this days journey being not above a league out of my way, I was resolved to see. The ways were bad, lying out of the Road, yet by noon I got to *Chiantla*, which is a Town belonging unto Mercenarian Fryers, who doubtless would not be able to subsist in so poor a place, had they not invented that loadstone of their picture of *Mary* and cried it up for
miracu-

miraculous, to draw people far and near, and all Travellers from the Road to pray unto it, and to leave their gifts and alms unto them for their Prayers and Masses. Such an income of treasure and riches hath been got from deluded and ignorant souls to this beggarly Town, that the Fryers have had wherewith to build a Cloister able to maintain four or five of them. The Church is richly furnished, but especially the high Altar, where the Picture standeth in a Tabernacle with half a dozen curtains of Silk, Sattin, Cloth of gold, with borders of gold-lace before it, wearing a rich Crown of gold, thickly beset with Diamonds and other precious stones. There hang before it at least a dozen rich lamps of silver; and in the Vestry of the Church are many Gowns, Candlesticks of silver, Censers to burn Frankincense before it, besides rich Copes, Vestments, Ornaments, for the Altar; and hangings for all the Church.

To conclude here is a treasure hid in the Mountain; O that it could be found out to do the Lord service! I was welcomed to this place by those Fryers, who were strangers unto me; my head was filled that day by them with relations of strange and many miracles, or lies, which they told me of that Picture; but the heaviness of my head did me good in something, for it made me more drowsie at night and apter to take good rest. The next day I got into the Road again, and went to the last Town of these *Cuchumatlanes* call'd *Chautlan*, where I stay'd all that day and night, and sent before a letter to the Prior of *Sacapula* of my going thither the next day. In *Chautlan* I was very kindly used by the *Indians*, and liked the Town the better for the excellent grapes which there I found, not planted like Vineyards, but growing up in Arbours, to shew that if that land were planted, it would certainly yield as good grapes for wine as any are in *Spain*. They are carried from that place to *Guatemala*, which stands from it near 40 leagues, and are sold about the streets for rarities and great dainties; and well may they, for from *Mexico* to *Guatemala* there are none like them. The next morn-
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ing I made haste to be gone, that I might come the sooner to *Sacapula*, where I was to find them of mine own profession, with whom I knew I might stay and rest a whole week if I pleased. I had not rid above three leagues, when I began to discover at a low and deep bottom, a pleasant and goodly Valley, laced with a River, whose water receiving the glorious brightness of *Phæbus* beams, reverberated up to the top of the Mountain a delightful me prospect to the beholders; the more I hastened to that seeming Paradise, the more did the twinkling and wanton stream invite me down the hill; which I had no sooner descended, but I found in an Arbour by the water side the Prior of *Sacapula* himself with a good Train of *Indians*, waiting for me with a cup of Chocolate. At the first I was a little daunted to behold the Prior, who looked most fearfully with a bladder from his throat swelled almost round his neck, which hung over his shoulders and breast, and stay'd up his chin, and lifted up his head so, that he could scarce look any whither but up to heaven. In our discourse he told me that disease had been upon him at least ten years, and that the water of that River, had caused it in him, and in many others of that Town. This made me now as much out of love with the River, as above the hill I had liked the goodly sight of it, and therefore resolv'd not to stay so long in that place as I had thought, lest the water should mark me for all my life, as they had done this Prior; whose name was Prior *John de la Cruz*, a Biscain born, and (like, some of that nation) a little troubled with the simples but a good hearted man, humble and well beloved over all the Country, both by *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When I came to the Town I discovered many men and women with bladders in their throats, like the poor Prior, which made me almost unwilling to drink there any Chocolate made with that water, or eat any thing dressed with it, until the Prior did much encourage me, and told me that it did not hurt all, but only some, and those who did drink it cold; wherewith I resolv'd to stay there four or five

five days because of the old Priors importunity, who would fain have had me continue to live with him, promising to teach me the *Indian* language in a very short time. But higher matters calling me to *Guatemala*, I excused my self, and continued there five days with much recreation. The Town though it be not in the general very rich, yet there are some *Indian* Merchants who trade about the Country, and especially to *Suchutepeques*, where is the chief store of *Cacao*, and thereby some of this Town of *Sacapula*, have enriched themselves; the rest of the people trade in pots and pans, which they make of an earth there fit for that purpose. But the principal Merchandize of this place is Salt, which they gather in the morning from that ground that lyeth near the River. The air is hot, by reason the Town standeth low, and compassed with high hills on every side. Besides many good fruits which are here, there are Dates as good as those that come from *Barbary*, and many trees of them in the Garden belonging to the Cloister. After I had here wearied out the weariness which I brought in my bones from the *Cuchumatlanes*, I departed taking my way to *Guatemala*, and from *Sacapula* I went to a Town call'd *St. Andres*, or *St. Andrews*, which standeth six or seven leagues from *Sacapula*, a great Town, but nothing remarkable in it, save only Cotton-wool and Turkies, and about it some rich *Estantia's* or Farms of Cattel, which are commodiously seated here, it being a plain Champaign Country. Yet at the further end of this plain there is a Mountain which discourageth with the sight all such as travel to *Guatemala*. From *St. Andres* I prepared my self for the next days journey, which was of nine long leagues, to a very great Town call'd by two names, by some *Sacualpa*, by others *Sta-Maria Zojabab*, to the which I could not go without passing over that Mountain. I sent word of going to *Zojabab* the day before (as is the custom there) that Mules and horses might meet me upon the Mountain; and the night before I went to a Rancho (which is a lodge built for travellers to rest when the journey is long) which stood within a league of the

the Mountain by a River, where with the waters murmur, and refreshing gales I took good rest. In the morning having refreshed my self, and my *Indians* with Chocolate, I set out to encounter with that proud Mountain; and when I came unto it I found it not so hard to overcome, as I had conceited, the way lying with windings and turnings; But the higher I mounted the more my eyes were troubled with looking to the River below, whose rocks were enough to astonish and make a stout heart tremble. About the middle of the mountain the *Indians* of *Zobajah* met us, with a mule for me, and another for my carriage in a narrow passage where the way went wheeling. Here I lighted, whilst the *Indians* helped one another to unload my first mule and get me a fresh one. Out of the narrow way the side of the Mountain was steepy, and a fearful precipice of two or three miles to the bottom, almost bare of trees, here and there one only growing. My heart was true unto me, wishing me to walk up a foot until I came unto some broader passage; but the *Indians* perceiving my fear, told me there was no danger; assuring me further that the Mule they had brought was sure, and had been well used to that mountain. With their persuasions I got up, but no sooner was I mounted when the Mule began to play her pranks and kick, and to leap out of the way, casting me down and her self, both rouling and tumbling apace to the rocks, and death, had not a shrub prevented me, and a tree stopped the Mules blind fury. The *Indians* cried out, *milagro, milagro*, miracle, miracle, *Santo, Santo*, a Saint, a Saint, to me so loud as if they would have had their cry reach to *Rome* to help forward my canonization; for many such miracles have by some been noised at *Rome*, and with further contribution of mony have been enrolled in the book and Catalogue of Saints. Whilst the *Indians* helped me up and brought the Mule again into the way, they did nothing but flatter me with this term Saint; which they needed not have done, if as they considered my dangerous fall and stopping at a shrub (which was by chance, and not by miracle) they had fur-

ther considered my passion and hasty wrath (not befitting a Saint) wherewith I threatned to bast their ribs for deceiving me with a young Mule not well accustomed to the saddle. But all my hasty words and anger could not discredit me with them, nor lessen their conceit of my holiness and sanctity, who hold the anger and wrath of a Priest to be the breath of Gods nostrils, and with this their foolish conceit of me, they kneeled before me kissing my hands.

The business being further examined, they confessed that they had been mistaken in the Mules, having sadled for me that which should have carried my Petacas or leathern chests, which was a young Mule accustomed only to carriages, and not to the saddle, and upon that which should have been sadled they put my carriage. Whilst they unloaded and loaded again and sadled the right Mule, I walked up the hill about a mile, and when they overtook me I got up and rid till I met with my refreshing harbour and Chocolate, and many *Indians* that came to receive me, among whom it was presently noised that I was a Saint and had wrought a miracle in the way; with this the rest of the *Indians* kneeled to me and kissed my hands, and in the way that we went to the Town; all their talk was of my sanctity. I was much vexed at their simplicity, but the more they saw me unwilling to accept of that honour, the more they pressed it upon me. When I came to the Town I told the Fryer what had happened, and what the foolish *Indians* had conceited; at which he laughed, and told me that he would warrant me if I stayed long in the Town, all the men and women would come to kiss my hands and to offer their gifts unto me. He knew well their qualities, or else had taught them this superstition with many others; for no sooner had we dined, but many were gathered to the Church to see the Saint that was come to their Town, and that had wrought a miracle in the mountain as he came. With this I began to be more troubled than before, at the folly of the simple people, and desired the Fryer to check and rebuke them, who by no means would, but rather laughed at it, saying,

ing, that in policy we ought to accept of any honour from the *Indians*, for as long as we had credit and an opinion of Saints among them, so long we should prevail to do any thing with them, yea even to command them and their fortunes at our pleasure. With this I went down with the Fryer to the Church, and sat down with him in a chair in the Quire, representing the person of such a Saint as they imagined me to be, though in realty and truth but a wretched sinner.

No sooner had we taken up our places, when the *Indians*, men, women and children came up by three and four, or whole families to the Quire, first kneeling down for my blessing, and then kissing my hands, they began to speak to me in their *Indian* complements to this purpose, that their Town was happy and doubtless blessed from heaven by my coming into it, and that they hoped their souls should be much the better if they might partake of my prayers to God for them. And for this purpose some offered unto me mony, some hony, some eggs, some little mantles, some plantins, and other fruits, some fowls, and some turkies. The Fryer that sat by me I perceived was overjoyed with this, for he knew I was to be gone, and would leave unto him all those offerings. I desired him to make answer unto the *Indians* in my behalf, excusing me as not well versed in their language (yet the fools if they thought and judged me to be a Saint, might have expected from me also the gift of tongues) which he did, telling them that I had been but awhile in that Country, and though I understood part of their language, yet could not speak nor pronounce it perfectly, and therefore from me he did give them hearty thanks for the great love they had shewed unto an Embassadour of God, witnessing it with so many sorts of offerings, which assuredly should remind him and me of our offerings for them, in our prayers and hearty recommendations of them and their children unto God. Thus was that Ceremony ended, the *Indians* dismissed, and the Fryer and I went up to a chamber, where he began to tell his eggs and fowls, and to dis-

pose of some of them for our supper ; he told me he would take them, but at my departure would give me somewhat for them ; he bad me keep what mony they had given me, and told me I was welcome unto him, and no burthensom guest, but very profitable, who had brought with me store of provision for my self and for him many days after. The mony I received came to forty Rials, besides twenty which he gave me for the other offerings, which might be worth forty more ; all this I got for having a fall from a Mule, and for not breaking my neck. I would fain have departed the next morning, but *John Vidall* (so was the Fryer named) would not permit me, for that the next journey was of at least 10 leagues, and therefore he would have me rest my self the next day.

This Town of *Zobajab*, or *Sacapula* is the biggest and fairest of all the Towns that belong unto the Priory of *Sacapula* ; the *Indians* are rich and make of their Cotton-wool many mantles, they have plenty of hony, and great flocks of goats and kids ; but here, nor in all the Towns behind there is no wheat, save only *Indians* Maiz. The next day some small offerings fell unto me, but nothing like the day before ; and so I told the Fryer, that now the peoples devotion was decayed, I would be gone in the morning before day. That night the chief *Indians* of the Town came to offer their service and attendance upon me to a Rancho or lodge that standeth in the middle way ; but I would not accept of the great ones, but desired that I might have three only of the meaner sort to guide me till I met with company from the Town whither I was going, and whither I had sent warning of my coming. The time appointed was three of the clock in the morning ; at which hour after a little sleep I was called, and having drunk my Chocolate, and eat a maple bread with a little Conserve, I prepared my self for my journey, and found the *Indians* ready waiting for me in the yard, with pieces of pine-wood, which burn like torches, and with which they use to travel in the night, and to shew the way to him whom they guide. A little from the Town we had

had some craggy ways, which indeed had need of lights; but afterwards we came into a plain champaign Country; which continued till within a league of the middle way lodge; to the which we were to descend a steep hill. When we came thither (which was about seven in the morning) we found our fresh supply waiting for us, who had set out from their Town at midnight to meet us (note the *Indians* subjection to their Priests command) and had made us a fire, and warmed water for our Chocolate. Which whilst I was drinking, the *Indians* of *Zobajah*, who had guided me thither, gave notice to those that came to receive me from *St. Martin* (so was the Town called whither I was that day minded) of my miracle and sanctity, wishing them to reverence and respect me in the way. But not for this their foolish report did I make the *Indians* of *Zobajah* drink every one a cup of Chocolate, and so dismissed them; and took forwards my journey to *St. Martin*. Most of the way was hilly and craggy till we came within two miles of the Town; to the which we arrived by noon. This Town is cold, standing high, yet pleasant for the prospect almost to *Guatemala*; here, and in most of the Towns about it is most excellent Wheat. The hony of this Town is the best in the Country; but above all it furnisheth *Guatemala* with Quails, Partridges, and Rabbits. It is the first Town we enter into belonging to the City and command of *Guatemala*; which did not a little comfort me, that now I wanted but one good journey to make an end of my long, tedious, and wearisom travelling. The Fryer of this Town named *Thomas de la Cruz*, belonged unto the Dominican Cloister of *Guatemala*; he was a Criolian, but yet he entertained me very lovingly. I stayed with him but that night. And in the morning (though I might have gone to dinner to *Guatemala*) I would needs go by the way to one of the biggest Towns in that Country, called *Chimaltenango*, standing in an open valley three leagues from the City, consisting of a thousand house-keepers, and rich *Indians* who trade much about the Country. In this Town in my time there

was one *Indian*, who alone had bestowed upon the Church five thousand ducates. The Church yields to none in the City of *Guatemala*, and in musick it exceeds most about the Country. The chief feast of *Chimaltenangó* is upon the 26. day of *July*, (which they call *St. Anns* day) and then is the richest fair that ever my eyes beheld in those parts of all sorts of Merchants and Merchandize; It is farther set forth with Bull-baiting, Horse-racing, Stage-plays, Masques, Dances, Musick, and all this gallantry performed by the *Indians* of the Town. The Fryer of this Town was a Dominican, belonging to the Cloister of the Dominicans of *Guatemala*, named *Alonso Hidalgo*, a four-eyed old man, for he always wore spectacles. He was a *Spaniard* born, but having been brought up in that Country from his youth, and having taken his habit and vows in *Guatemala* amongst the *Criolians*, he degenerated from his birth and Countrymen, hating all such as came from *Spain*. He was a deadly enemy to the Provincial (aiming indeed himself to be Provincial with the favour of the *Criolians*) and so I perceived he would have picked a quarrel with me, whilst I was with him; he told me I was welcome, though he had little reason to bid any welcome that had come from *Spain*, who he thought came but to supplant those that had been born and brought up there in their own Country, and that for ought he knew, I learning the language of those *Indians* might one day dispossess him of that Town, wherein he had continued above ten years; he inveyed much against the Provincial and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior of *Guatemala*, whom he knew to be my friend; but to all this I answered not a word, respecting his grave and old age, and Crystall spectacles. At last he told me that he had heard say, that the *Indians* of *Zobajah* had cryed me up for a Saint, which he could not believe of any that came from *Spain*; much less of me that came from *England* a country of hereticks; but he feared rather that I might come as a spie, to view the riches of that their Country, and betray them hereafter to *England*; and that in *Guatemala* there were many rich pieces, especially a picture of our Lady, and a lamp

in

in the Cloister of the Dominicans, which he doubted not but I would be careful to pry into. But all this I put up with a jest, saying, I would be sure to take notice first of the riches of his chamber in Pictures, Hangings, and rich Cabinets, and that if the *English* came thither in any time, I would surely conduct them to it; and if he himself would but cause a set of teeth of silver to be set in his gums and jaws in stead of those leaden ones, (for he was so old that he had lost all his teeth, and had got some of lead in their stead) then surely I would also conduct the *English* to him as to a rich prize for his teeth, and that I would warrant him he should be well used for his outward and inward riches; and that this my counsel might be profitable and of consequence to him, I told him, that if the *English* should come, certainly they would try of what mettall his teeth were made, thinking that they might be of some rare and exquisite substance found only in that Country, and so might cause him to drink such hot and scalding broath, (to try whether they were lead) as might melt them in his mouth, and make the melted lead run down his throat, which if they were of silver they would not do. He perceived that I jeered him, and so he let me alone; I was glad I had put him out of his former byas of railing; so dinner being ended, I told him I would not stay supper, but go to *Guatemala* to a light supper in the Cloister, for that he had given me such a dinner, as I feared I should not have digested it in few days. I desired him to let me have *Indians* to guide me to *Guatemala*, which he willingly performed, peradventure fearing that if I stayed supper with him, I should melt the teeth in his mouth with some scalding cup of my Chocolate brought from *Chiapa*, or that in the night I should rifle or plunder his Chamber of his rich Idols and Ebony Cabinets. The *Indians* being come, I made haste to be gone from that four-eyed Beast, being now desirous of a constant rest in *Guatemala*. Within a league from this Town of *Chimaltenango*, the Road way leaving that open, wide, and spacious valley, contracts and gathereth in it self between hills and mountains standing

on each side, and so continueth to the City. From this Valley unto *Guatemala*, neither is there any ascent or descent, but a plain, broad and sandy way. The eye hath much to view, though compassed with Mountains, in these two last leagues; for yet it may behold a Town of *Indians* which taketh up most of the way, and is counted as big as *Chimaltenango*, if not bigger, the houses lying scattered with a distance one from another, mingled with many fair buildings of *Spaniards*, who resort much thither from the City for their recreation. This Town is called *Xocotenango*, of a fruit named *Xocotte*, wick is most plentiful there, and all about the Country: it is fresh and cooling, of a yellow colour when ripe, and of two sorts, some sweet, and others sour, of the stones whereof the *Indians* make a fire; they lye so thick in the way, dropping from the trees for want of gathering and spending them all, that the *Spaniards* have begun to practise the buying of Hogs on purpose to let them run about that high way, finding that they fat as speedily and as well with those plums, as our Hogs do in *England* with Acorns. All this way are also many fair gardens, which supply the Market of *Guatemala* with herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers all the year. There are further in this Road three water-mills for the corn of the City, whereof the chief and the richest belongs to the Dominican Fryers of *Guatemala*, who keep there a Fryer constantly with three or four Blackmores to do and oversee the work; what will not those Fryers do to satisfy their covetous minds? Even dusty Millers they will become to get wealth. The Frontispiece of the Church of this Town is judged one of the best pieces of work thereabouts; the high Altar within is also rich and stately, being all daubed with gold. I made no stay in this place, because I knew I should have many occasions after my settling in the City to come unto it. And thus keeping between the hills I continued on my journey till I came to *Guatemala*, whose Dominions, riches and greatness the following Chapter shall largely shew.

CHAP. XVIII.

Describing the Dominions, Government, Riches, and Greatness of the City of Guatemala, and Country belonging unto it.

I Had not rid on above a mile from the Church of *Xocotenango*, when the Hills and Mountains seemed to depart one from another, leaving a more spacious object for the eye to behold, and a wider Valley to wander in. The fame of that City from *Mexico* and *Chiapa* had raised up my thoughts to a conceit of some strong Walls, Towers, Forts or Bulwarks to keep out an aspiring or attempting enemy; but when I came near and least thought of it, I found my self in it without entring through walls, or gates, or passing over any bridge, or finding any watch or guard to examine who I was; but passing by a new built Church, standing near a place of dunghils, where were none but mean houses, some thatched, and some tyled, and asking what Town that was, answer was made me that it was the City of *Guatemala*, and that, being called *St. Sebastian*, was the only Parish Church of the City. With this my high conceiting thoughts stooped down to think of some second *Chiapa*; till having continued on a while by houses on my right hand and dunghils on my left, I came to a broader street having houses on my each side, which seemed to promise a City at hand. At my first turning I discovered a proud and stately Cloister, which was the place of rest to my wearied body. I surrounded it to find out the back gate, and there lighted and enquired for the Prior, who bad me very welcom, assuring me that for the Provincials sake I should want no incouragement, and that he would do for me much more than what the Provincial had signified unto him by Letters. He told me he had been brought up in *Spain*, in the Country of *Asturias*,
where

where many English Ships did use to come, and having seen there many of my Nation, he affected them very much, and to me as one of so good a Nation, and as a stranger and Pilgrim out of my own Country, he would shew all the favour that the utmost of his power could afford. How glad was I, to find in him so contrary an opinion to that of four-eyed *Hidalgo*? And how did he perform his words? He was the chief Master and Reader of Divinity in the University, his name Master *Facinbo de Cabannas*, who finding me desirous to follow the Schools, and especially to hear from him some lessons of Theology, within the first quarter of the year that I had been his constant and attentive Auditor, graced me with a publick act of conclusions of Divinity, which I was to defend under his direction and moderation in the face of the whole University and Assembly of Doctors and Divines, against the Tenents of *Scotus* and *Suarez*. But the principal and head conclusion was concerning the birth of the Virgin Mary, whom both Jesuits, *Suarez*, and Franciscans, and Scotists hold to have been born without original sin, or any guilt or stain of it, against whose fond, foolish, and ungrounded fancies, I publickly defended with *Thomas Aquinas*, and all *Thomists*; that she (as well as all *Adams* posterity) was born in Original sin. It was an act, the like whereof had not been so controverted in that University with arguments in *contra*, and their Answers and Solutions, and with reasons and arguments in *pro*, many years before. The Jesuits stamped with their feet, clapt with their hands, railed with their tongues, and condemned it with their mouths for a Heresie, saying, that in *England*, where were Hereticks, such an opinion concerning Christs Mother might be held, and defended by me who had my birth among Hereticks, but that Master *Cabannas*, born among *Spaniards*, and brought up in their Universities, and being the chief Reader in that famous Academy, should maintain such an opinion, they could not but much marvel and wonder at it. But with patience I told them, that strong reasons, and further authority of many learned *Thomists* Divines should

should satisfie their vain and clamorous wondring. The Act was ended, and though with the Jesuits I could get no credit, yet with the Dominicans, and with Master *Cabannas*, I got so much that I never after lost it for the space almost of twelve years; but was still honoured by the means of this *Cabannas* and Fryer *John Baptist* the Prior *Chiapa* (who at Christmas ensuing was made Prior of *Guatemala*) with honours and preferments as great as ever stranger was living among *Spaniards*. These two above named being at *Candlemas* or the beginning of *February* that same year at *Chiapa* at the election of a new Provincial, would not forget me their poorest friend still abiding in *Guatemala*, but remembring that the University (which belonged chiefly to the Cloister) at *Michaelmas* would want a new Reader or Master of Arts to begin with *Logick*, continue through the eight books of *Physicks*, and to end with the *Metaphysicks*, propounded me to the new elected Provincial (whose name was Fryer *John Ximeno*) and to the whole Chapter and Conventicle of the Province for Reader of Arts in *Guatemala* the *Michaelmas* next ensuing. Their suit for me was so earnest and their authority so great, that nothing could be denied them; and so they brought unto me from the Provincial Chapter these ensuing Letters Patents, from Fryer *John Ximeno*, whose form and manner I thought fit here to insert out of the Original in *Spanish* (which to this day abideth with me) for curiosity and satisfaction of my Reader.

FRay *Juan Ximeno Predicador General y Prior Provincial desta Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, Orden de Predicadores, Por quanto nuestro Convento de Santo Domingo de Guatemala carece de Lector de Artes, Pro la presente Instituyo y doy pro Lector Al Padre fray Thomas de Santa Maria* (so was my name then, and by this name will some *Spaniards* know me, who may chance hereafter to read this, and curse me) *por la satisfaccion que tengo de su sufficiencia. Y mando al Pe. Prior del dicho nuestro Convento, le ponga en possession del tal Officio. Y para mayor merito de*
obediencia

*obedientia le mando in virtute Spiritus sancti, & sanctæ obedi-
entia, & sub precepto formali ; In nomine Patris, & Filii, &
Spiritus sancti. Amen. Fecho en este nuestro Convento de Chi-
apa la Real en nueve de Febrero de 1627. Y la mande sellar
con sello mayor de nuestro officio.*

Fray Juan
or
Ximeno Palis

Por Mandado de Nostro Rdo.
Padre, Fray Juan de Sto.
Domingo Not.

*Notifique esta Patente a el Contenido, en 12 di as del mes de
Abril de 1627.*

Fray Juan
Baptista Por.

This Form according to the Original in *Spanish* is thus in
English and to this purpose.

FRyer *John Ximeno* Preacher General, and Prior Provin-
cial of this Province of Saint *Vincent* of *Chiapa* and
Guatemala, Order of Preachers. Whereas our Convent of
St. *Dominick* of *Guatemala* wanteth and stands in need of a
Reader of Arts : By these presents I do institute, name and
appoint for Reader Fryer *Thomas* of St. *Mary*, for the great
satisfaction which I have of his sufficiency. And I com-
mand the Prior of the aforesaid our Convent, that he put
him into full possession and enjoyment of the said Office.
And for the greater merit of obedience, I command him
(our forenamed Reader) by vertue of the Holy Ghost, and
of holy obedience, and under a formal precept, In the Name
of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, A-
men. Dated in this our Convent of *Chiapa* the Royal, the
9. of Feb. 1627, And I command these to be sealed with
the great Seal of our Office:

Fryer *John*
or
Ximeno Pal.

By the command of our Reverend
Father Fryer *John* of St. *Do-
minick* Notary.

*I notified these Letters Patents, unto the contained in them the
12. day of the month of April, 1427.*

*Fryer John
Baptist. Por.*

This honour conferred upon me a stranger, and new comer to the Province, made the Criolian party and some others (who had aimed at that place and preferment in the University) to stomach me. But to me it was a spur to stir and prick me on to a more eager pursuit of learning, to frequent the Academy lessons with more care and diligence; and to spend my self and time, day and night, more in studying, that so I might perform with like honour that which was laid upon me, and answer the expectation of my best and forwardest friends. Three years I continued in this Convent and City in obedience to the forecited Patents; oftentimes I thought within my self that the honour of my *English Nation* here lay upon me in *Guatemala*, in not suffering any *Spaniard* to go beyond me, or to outbrave me with gallant, wity, and well seeming arguments; and so many times I would at nine of the clock at night, when others were gone to bed, take in my chamber a cup of hot Chocolate, that with it I might banish sleep from my eyes, and might the better continue in my study till one or two in the morn, being bound to awake and be up again by six. I was loath in these 3 years to take upon me any other of such charges which are common in such Convents, but especially to preach much, and to hear the Confessions of such both men and women as resorted to the Church of that Cloister, lest hereby my studies might be hindered, and time spent in other ways. Yet the Prior and Master *Cabannas* would often be very importunate with me, to obtain the Bishops License for hearing Confessions, and Preaching abroad in the City and Country (for in the Church of that Cloister I might and did sometimes, though seldom, preach with permission of the Provincial)
but

but this I strongly refused, until such time as the Provincial came to *Guatemala*, who hearing me once preach, would by all means have me further licensed and authorised from the Bishop, that so I might not be straitned within the Cloisters limits, but abroad in other Churches might freely preach, and thereby get some money for the better furnishing my self with Books. He therefore commanded me to be examined by five examiners all able Divines, for the space of three hours (as is the custom of that Order) and having three hours stood under their hard and rigid questions and examination, having also at the end obtained their approbation, then the Provincial presented me unto the Bishop with these words following, being taken out of the Original yet abiding with me.

Fray Juan Ximeno Predicador General, y Provincial desta Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, Orden de Predicadores, Presento a Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria examinado y aprobado pro cinco examinadores per vota Secreta, conforme a nuestras Constitutiones, Para que vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima se sirva de darme licencia para Confessar y Predicar a todo genero de Gente en su Obispado, Conforme a la Clementina, Dudum de Sepulturis.

A Vuestra Sennoria Illustrissima Suplico le aya pro Presentado y se sirva de darme la dicha licencia, que en ello receibre merced.

Fray Juan

or

Ximeno. Palis,

This form of Presentation, used among them, naming the party presenting, and the party presented, is in English much to this purpose.

Fryer John Ximeno, Preacher General, and Provincial of this Province of St. Vincent, of Chiapa and Guatemala,

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Guatemala, Order of Preachers, do present unto your Lordship the Father Fryer *Thomas* of *St. Mary* (already examined, and approved by five Examiners by secret Votes, according to our Rule and Constitutions) that your Lordship may be pleased to grant him licence to hear Confessions, and to preach to all sorts of people in your Bishoprick, according to that Rule and Canon of Pope *Clement*, beginning with these words, *Dudum de Sepulturis*.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to have him for presented, and to grant him your foresaid Licence; and therein I shall receive great favour.

Fryer *John*
or
Ximeno. Palis.

The Bishop of *Guatemala* being my great friend, and a well wisher to learning, and especially to that University, needed not many words of intreaty, but presently gave me this Licence written on the back-side of the Presentation, and that without any further examination by his Clergy and part of his Chapter, which he may and doth use when he pleaseth.

NOs el Maestro Don Fray Juan de Sandoval, y Capata, de la Orden de San Augustin par la Divina Gracia Obispo de Guatemala y la Vera Paz, del Consejo de su Magistad, &c. Por la Presente damos licencia al Padre Fray Thomas de Santa Maria, de la Orden de Predicadores Contenido en la Presentation de su Religion atras Contendida, Para que en todo este nuestro Obispado pueda Predicar, y Predique la Palabra de Dios, y para que pueda administrar, y administre el Sacramento Santo de la Penitencia generalmente a todas las Personas que con el tubieren Devocion de Confessar (excepto Menias) y a las Personas que Confessare puede absolver, y absuelva de todos sus pecados, Crimines y excessos, excepto de los casos reservados a su santidad, y a Nos pro Derecho.
Dado

*Dada en la Ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala, en quarto de
Diziembre de Mill, y Seyscientos ye veynte y nueve Annos.*

Cl. Obispo de
Guatemala.

Por Mandado del Illmo. mi Sen-
nor Pedro Ramirez de Valdes,
Secretario.

This form of Licence to preach and hear confessions, from the Bishop of Guatemala, is worth Englishing for some things in it, which I shall observe with inclosed Parentheses as I go along for the better reminding my Reader of them.

WE (Bishops in that Church scorn the name of a singular person, shewing they have the power of all persons joyned together in them of rich and poor, of Subject and Prince) Master and Lord Fryer John de Sandoval y Capata of the order of St. Augustin (though brought up in a poor Mendicant Cloister, yet now he takes upon him the title of a Lord, and shews how Prelates in that Church use to Lord it over the people) by the Divine Grace, Bishop of Guatemala and the Vera Paz (bestyles himself a Bishop by Divine Grace, whereas he himself according to the common report of him, as also are most Bishops there made, was made Bishop not by any Divine Grace, but by unwarranted Simony and favour from Courtiers, having given many thousand Crowns for that his Bishoprick) of his Majesty's Council (Bishops there must be Counsellors to Kings, and meddle in Court and Politick affairs) by these Presents give licence to Father Fryer Thomas of Saint Mary, of the Order of Preachers, contained in the Presentation from his religious Order on the back-side of this our Licence, that throughout all our Bishoprick he may and do preach the word of God (yet I confess this word of God is little used in sermons in that Church, but rather the words of Saints of theirs and Fathers, and lying words of miracles, wherewith they stuff up a whole hours preaching) and that he may and do administer the holy Sacrament of Penance

(nos

(not holy, as it came from the mouth of him to whom the Seraphins cry Holy, Holy, Holy, but as it came from the head of Rome, who sacrilegiously styles himself Holiness and most Holy Father. Not a Sacrament as so left and ordained by Christ, but one of Rome's seven Sacraments, which as it is a City known and distinguished by seven hills, so will that Church be known and distinguished from the true Church by seven Sacraments) generally to all persons, which shall have devotion to confess with him, excepting Nuns (this Bishop had in that City one of the six Judges of the Chancery his daughter, a Nun called Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz, whom he loved dearly, and much conferred with her in private in the Cloister, whose private conferences he was jealous they should be known in Confession, and therefore would suffer none to hear Nuns Confessions, but such as were his most intimate friends, and of whom he had great satisfaction, alledging this reason, that such as heard Nuns Confessions ought to be very skilful and experienced in such ways, and men of age; for that greater cases of Conscience were to be met with in Nuns Confessions, than in others. By which reason he unwisely brought an aspersion upon those Virgins, who should live chastly and holily as separated from the world and inclosed, and yet it seems by this Bishops opinion, that within their inclosed walls, sins are committed more grievous than abroad in the wide world, and such as may puzzle a Ghostly Father, if not skilful and ancient) and that he may and do absolve all persons which shall confess with him (if only God can pardon and absolve from sin, O how is Gods power arrogated and taken, yea and abused by those sacrilegious Priests!) from all their sins, crimes, and excesses, excepting such cases as are reserved to his Holiness, and to us by Canon right. (A wicked rule and Canon, a Government certainly most cruel and tyrannical, that binds poor wretches in some cases to go from America to Rome, at least eight thousand miles to clear their Consciences before the Pope, or else they must die without pardon and absolution from sin, many having not means to go thither, nor gifts to bestow upon their Pope, who must be bribed to absolve them. O how more sweet,

comfortable and safe is it for a heinous sinner and offender even at home or in the Church grieving within his heart, and keeping within himself, to lift up a broken heart, and make that post and flie with wings of Eagles to the high Throne of Gods grace and mercy, with assured confidence that there only is pardon, remission, and absolution granted to all such as do truly and unfeignedly repent of their sins, crimes and excesses!) Dated in the City of Saint James of Guatemala, the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1629.

The Bishop of
Guatemala.

By the command of my most
Illustrious Lord, Peter Ramirez de Valdes. Secretary.

Thus with full and ample Commission from the Bishop and the Provincial was I settled in *Guatemala*, to read and preach, where (although I might have continued many years, and was offered to read Divinity, having in part begun it one quarter of a year) I continued yet but three years and almost an half for the reason I shall shew hereafter. So what in that time I could observe of that City, and of the Country round about, having had occasions to travel about it both when I lived in *Guatemala*, and afterwards when I lived for above seven years in the Country Towns, I shall truly and faithfully recommend unto my Reader. This City of *Guatemala* (called by the Spaniards, *Santjago*, or *St. James of Guatemala*) is seated in a valley which is not above two miles and a half broad, for the high mountains do keep it close in; but in length towards the South-sea it contains a wide and Champaign Country, opening it self broader a little beyond that Town, which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, standing somewhat above three miles from *Guatemala*. Though the mountains on each side do strongly environ it, and especially on the East-side seem to hang over it, yet none of them are hinderers to Travellers, who over
them

them have opened ways easie for man and beasts, though heavily laden with wares of all sorts. The way from Mexico, if taken by the coast of *Soconuzco*, and *Suchutepeques* comes into the City North-west-ward, which is a wide, open and sandy road; if it be taken by *Chiapa*, it lyeth North-east, and entreth into the City between the mountains, as before hath been noted. Westward to the South-sea, the way lyeth open through the valley and a champaign Country. But South or South-east, the entrance is over high and steep hills, which is the common road from *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua*, and the *Golfo dulce* or sweet Gulf, where the ships come yearly and unlade all the Commodities which are brought from *Spain* for *Guatemala*. This also is the way followed by them who take a journey meer Eastward from this City. But the chiefest mountains, which straighten in this City and Valley are two, called *Vulcans*, the one being a Vulcan of water, and the other a Vulcan or mountain of fire, termed so by the *Spaniards*, though very improperly a Vulcan may be said to contain water, it taking its name from the heathenish God Vulcan, whose profession and imployment chiefly was in fire. These two famous mountains stand almost the one over against the other, on each side of the valley; that of water hanging on the South side almost perpendicularly over the City, the other of fire standing lower from it, more opposite to the old City. That of water is higher than the other, and yields a goodly prospect to the sight, being almost all the year green, and full of *Indian* Milpa's which are plantations of *Indian* wheat; and in the small and petty Towns which lie some half way up it, some at the foot of it, there are Roses, Lilies, and other flowers all the year long in the Gardens, besides Plantins, Apricocks, and many sorts of sweet and delicate fruits. It is called by the *Spaniards*, *el Vulcan del agua*, or the Vulcan of water, because on the other side of it from *Guatemala*, it springs with many brooks towards a Town called *St. Christopher*, and especially is thought to preserve and nourish on that side also a great lake of fresh water,

by the Towns called *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*. But on the side of it towards *Guatemala* and the valley, it yields also so many springs of sweet and fresh water, as have caused and made a river which runneth along the valley close by the City, and is that which drives the water-mills spoken of before in *Xecotenango*. This river was not known when first the *Spaniards* conquered that Country; but since, according to their constant Tradition, the City of *Guatemala* standing higher and nearer to the *Vulcan* in that place and Town which to this day is called *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, there lived in it then about the year 1534. a Gentlewoman called *Donna Maria de Castilia*, who having lost her Husband in the wars, and that same year buried also all her children, grew so impatient under these her crosses and afflictions, that impiously she defied God, saying, What can God do more unto me now than he hath done? he hath done his worst without it be to take away my life also, which I now regard not. Upon these words there gushed out of this *Vulcan* such a flood of water as carried away this woman with the stream, ruined many of the houses, and caused the inhabitants to remove to the place where now standeth *Guatemala*. This is the *Spaniards* own Tradition, which if true, should be our example to learn to fear, and not to defie God, when his judgments shew him to us angry and a God that will overcome, when he judgeth. From that time, and from this their Tradition is the Town now standing, where first stood *Guatemala*, called, *la Ciudad Vieja*, or the old City, and hath continued a river which before was not known, having its head and spring from this high *Vulcan*, whose pleasant springs, gardens, fruits, flowers, and every green and flourishing prospect might be a fair object to a *Martials* wit, who here would fancy a new *Parnassus*, find out new steps of flying *Pegasus*, and greet the Nymphs and nine Sisters with this their never yet discovered and *American* habitation. This *Vulcan* or mountain is not so pleasing to the sight (whose height is judged full nine miles unto the top) but the other which standeth on the other side of the valley opposite

posite unto it, is unpleasing and more dreadful to behold; for here are ashes for beauty, stones and flints for fruits and flowers, baldness for greenness, barrenness for fruitfulness, for water whisperings and fountain murmurs, noise of thunders and roaring of consuming metals, for running streams, flashings of fire, for tall and mighty trees and Cedars, Castles of smoke rising in height to out dare the skie and firmament, for sweet and odoriferous and fragrant smells, a stink of fire and brimstone, which are still in action striving within the bowels of that ever-burning and fiery Vulcan. Thus is *Guatemala* seated in the midst of a Paradise on the one side, and a Hell on the other, yet never hath this hell broke so loose as to consume that flourishing City. True it is, formerly, many years ago it opened a wide mouth on the top, and breathed out such fiery ashes as filled the houses of *Guatemala* and the Country about, and parched all the plants and fruits, and spued out such stones and rocks, which had they fallen upon the City, would have crushed it to pieces, but they fell not far from it, but to this day lie about the bottom and sides of it, causing wonder to those that behold them, and taking away admiration from them that admire the force and strength of fire and its power in carrying a weighty bullet from the mouth of a cannon, whereas here the fire of this mountain hath cast up into the air and tumbled down to the bottom of it such rocks as in bigness exceed a reasonable house, and which not the strength of any twenty mules (as hath been tried) have been able to remove. The fire which flasheth out of the top of this mountain is sometimes more and sometimes less; yet while I lived in the City, on a certain time for the space of three or four days and nights it did so burn, that my friend Mr. *Cabannas* confidently avouched to me and others, that standing one night in his window he had with the light of that fire read a Letter, the distance being above three English miles. The roaring also of this monstrous beast is not constantly alike, but is greater in the Summer time than in the Winter, that is, from *October* to the end of *April*, than all the rest of the

Year; for then it seems, the winds entering those contavities set the fire on work harder than at other times, and cause the mountain to roar and the earth to quake. There was a time three years before my coming to that City, when the inhabitants expected nothing but utter ruine and destruction, and durst not abide within their houses for nine days (the earth-quakes continuing and increasing more and more, but made bowers and arbours in the market place, placing there their Idol Saints and Images, especially *St. Sebastian*, whom they hoped would deliver them from that judgment, and for this purpose they daily carried him through the streets in solemn and Idolatrous procession and adoration. But all the while I lived there the noise within the mountains, the smoke and flashes of fire without, and the Summer earth-quakes were such that with the use and custom of them I never feared any thing, but thought that City the healthiest and pleasanter place of dwelling that ever I came into in all my travels. The climate is very temperate, far exceeding either *Mexico* or *Guaxaca*. Neither are the two fore-named Cities better stored with fruits, herbs for sallets, provision of flesh, Beef, Mutton, Veal, Kid, Fowles, Turkeys, Rabbits, Quails, Partridges, Pheasants, and of *Indian* and *Spanish* Wheat, than is this City: from the South Sea (which lyeth in some places not above twelve leagues from it) and from the Rivers of the South Sea Coast, and from the fresh Lake of *Amatitlan* and *Petapa*, and from another Lake lying three or four leagues from *Chimaltenango*, it is well and plentifully provided for of fish. But for Beef there is such plenty, that it exceeds all parts of *America*, without exception, as may be known by the Aids which are sent yearly to *Spain* from the Country of *Guatemala*, where they commonly kill their Cattel, more for the gain of their Hydes in *Spain*, than for the goodness or fatnets of the flesh, which though it be not to compare to our *English* Beef, yet it is good mans meat, and so cheap, that in my time it was commonly sold at thirteen pound and a half for half a Rial, the least coyn there, and as much as three pence here.

Though

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Though all about this Country there are very great and spacious *Eftancia's*, or Farms for breeding only, even near to the *Golfo Dulce*, where the ships ride that come from *Spain*, yet from *Comayagua*, *St. Salvador* and *Nicaragua* is *Guatemala* stored; But above all are the great *Eftancia's* in the South Sea Coast or Marsh, where in my time there was a *Grazier* that reckoned up going in his own *Eftancia's* and ground, forty thousand heads of Beasts, small and great, besides many which are called there *Simarrones*, or wild Cattel, which were strayed among the Woods and Mountains, and could not be gathered in with the rest, but were hunted by the *Blackmoors* like wild Boars, and daily shot to death, lest they should too much increase and do hurt. My self chanced to be present at the Fair of the Town of *Petapa*, with a friend named *Lope de Chaves*, (who was as they call there, *Obligado*, or charged to provide flesh for 6 or 7 Towns thereabouts) who at one bargain, and of one man, bought six thousand head of Cattel, great and small, paying one with another eighteen Rials, or nine *English* shillings a head.

The manner and custom of *Guatemala* for the better providing both Beef and Mutton for it, and the Country Towns about, is this. Nine days before *Michaelmas*, every day Proclamation is made about the City for an *Obligado*, or one that will be bound to the City and Country for competent provision of Flesh-meat, upon forfeiture of such a sum of money to his Majesty, if he fail, as shall be agreed upon between him and the Court, and to the Inhabitants of the City; if he fail in Beef, he is to allow in Mutton so many pounds at the same rate as he should have allowed Beef. If the *Obligado* fail in Mutton, he is to allow in Fowl-flesh so many pounds and at the same rate as he was to allow the Mutton; and this with consideration of the family, what competent allowance of flesh meat shall be judged for a day, or the days that the *Obligado* shall fail. Besides this, the Proclamation is made for whom offers most to his Majesty for one years Obligation. So that sometimes it happeneth that the eight days several

men come into the Court, offering more and more, till upon the ninth day and last Proclamation, the Office is settled for one year upon him that hath offered most unto his Majesty. Thus many Butchers are not allowed, but one only Obligado, who also is abridged to so many pound for so much mony, so that if any other besides him offer to kill or sell, he may follow an action and the Court against him: Thus the Obligado (who commonly is a monied man) buyeth by the hundred or by the thousand, as for the present he findeth the expence of the City, without he be himself such a Grazier, as hath Cattel enough of his own. Though Mutton be not so plentiful as is Beef, yet there never wants from the Valley of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, and *Amatitlan*, and the *Marsh* and other places. In the Valley forenamed I lived, and was well acquainted with one *Alonso Capata*, who had constantly going in the Valley four thousand sheep. *Guatemala* therefore is so well stored with good provision, plentiful and cheap, that it is hard to find in it a begger; for with half a Rial the poorest may buy Beef for a week, and with a few Cacao's they may have bread of *Indian Maiz*, if not of *Spanish Wheat*. This City may consist of about five thousand families, besides a suburb of *Indians* called *el Barrio de Sto. Domingo*, where may be two hundred families more. The best part of the City is that which joyneth to the suburb of *Indians*, and is called also *el Barrio de Santo Domingo*, by reason of the Cloister of Saint *Dominick*, which standeth in it. Here are the richest and best shops of the City, with the best buildings, most of the houses being new, and stately. Here is also a daily *Tianguetz* (as they call it) or petty Market, where some *Indians* all the day sit selling Fruits, Herbs, and Cacao, but at four in the afternoon, this Market is filled for a matter of an hour, where the *Indian* women meet to sell their Country flap, (which is dainties to the *Criolians*) as *Atole*, *Pinole*, scalded Plantains, butter of the Cacao, puddings made of *Indian Maiz*, with a bit of Fowl, or fresh Pork in them, seasoned with much red biting Chile,

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Chile, which they call *Anacatarnales*. The trading of the City is great, for by mules it partakes of the best commodities of *Mexico*, *Guaxaca*, and *Chiapa*, and South-ward of *Nicaragua*, and *Costa-rica*. By Sea it hath commerce with *Pern*, by two Sea-ports and Havens, the one called *la Villa de la Trinidad*, the Village of the Trinity, which lyeth Southward from it five and twenty leagues; and by another called *el Realejo*, which lyeth five or six and forty leagues from it. It hath traffique with *Spain* by the North Sea from *Golfo dulce*, lying threescore leagues from it. It is not so rich as other Cities, yet for the quantity of it, it yields to none. There were in my time five (besides many other Merchants who were judged worth twenty thousand Duckats, thirty thousand, fifty thousand, some few a hundred thousand) who were judged of equal wealth, and generally reported to be worth each of them five hundred thousand Duckats; the first was *Thomas de Siliezer*, a *Biscain* born, and *Alcalde de Corte*, the Kings high Justice, or chief Officer at Court; the second was *Antonio Justiniano*, a *Genoese* born, and one that bore often Offices in the City, and had many Tenements and houses, especially a great and rich Farm for Corn and Wheat in the Valley of *Mixco*. The third was *Pedro de Lira*, born in *Castilia*, the fourth and fifth, *Antonio Fernandez*, and *Bartolome Nunez*, both *Portuguese*, whereof the first in my time departed from *Guatemala* for some reasons which here I must conceal. The other four I left there, three of them living at that end of the City called *Barrio de Santo Domingo*, or the street of *St. Dominick*, whose houses and presence makes that street excel all the rest of the City, and their wealth and trading were enough to denominate *Guatemala* a very rich City. The Government of all the Country about, and of all *Honduras*, *Soconuseo*, *Comayagua*, *Nicaragua*, *Costa Rica*, *Vera Paz*, *Suchutepeques*, and *Chiapa*, is subordinate unto the Chancery of *Guatemala*; for although every Governour over these several Provinces is appointed by the King and Council of *Spain*, yet when they come to those parts

parts to the enjoyment of their charge and execution of their office, then their actions, if unjust, are weighed, judged, censured, and condemned by the Court residing in the City. This Court of Chancery consisteth of a President, six Judges, one Kings Attorney, and two chief Justices of Court. The President though he have not the name and title of Viceroy, as they of *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet his power is as great and absolute as theirs. His Pension from the King is but twelve thousand Duckats a year, but besides this, if he be covetous, he makes by bribes and trading twice as much more, nay what he list; as was seen in the Count *de la Gomera*, President of that City and Chancery for the space of fourteen years, who departed in old age from *Guatemala* to *Canaria* (where was his house and place of birth) worth Millions of Duckats. After him succeeded *Don Juan de Guzman*, formerly President of *Santo Domingo*, who losing his Wife and Lady in the way, lost also his former spirit and courage, betaking himself wholly to his devotions, contemning wealth and riches governing with love and mildness, which made the rest of the Judges, who were all for lucre, soon weary him out of his office, continuing in it but five years. His successor (whom I left there when I came away) was *Don Gonzalo de Paz y Lorenzana*, who was promoted from the Presidency of *Panama* to that place, and came into it with such a spirit of covetousness as the like had not been seen in any former President. He forbad all gaming in private houses in the City, which there is much used (though by women not so much as in *Mexico*) not for that he hated it, but because he envied others, what they got and gained by their Cards, drawing to himself thereby all that gain, spending sometimes in one night four and twenty pair of Cards, appointing a Page to assist at the Tables, and to see the box well paid for every pair of Cards, which for his, and his Court respect, was seldom less than a crown or two for every pair. Thus did he lick up with his Cards most of the gamesters gains, and would grudge and pick quarrels with such rich men whom

whom he knew to affect gaming, if they frequented not his Court at night time for that bewitching Recreation.

The Pension which the King alloweth to every Judge of Chancery is four thousand Duckats yearly, and three thousand to his Attorney, all which is paid out of the Kings Exchequer abiding in that City. Yet what besides they get by bribes, and trading is so much, that I have heard a Judge himself *Don Luis de las Infantas*, say, that though a Judges place at *Mexico* and *Lima* be more honourable, yet none more profitable than *Guatemala*. In my time were such causes at Chancery tried, as had never been, of murthers, robberies, and oppressions, and whereas it was expected the offenders some should be hanged, some banished, some imprisoned, some by fines impoverished, bribes took all off, so that I never knew one hanged in that City for the space of above eight years. The Churches though they be not so fair and rich as those of *Mexico*, yet they are for that place wealthy enough. There is but one Parish Church and a Cathedral which standeth in the chief Market place: All the other Churches belonging to Cloisters, which are of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenarians, Augustines, and Jesuits, and two of Nuns, called the Conception and *S. Catharine*. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarians, are stately Cloisters, containing near a hundred Fryers apiece; but above all is the Cloister where I lived, of the Dominicans, to which is joyned, in a great walk before the Church, the University of the City. The yearly revenues which come into this Cloister, what from the *Indian Towns* belonging to it, what from a water-mill, what from a farm for Corn, what from an *Estancia*, or farm for Horses and Mules, what from an *Ingenio*, or farm of Sugar, what from a Mine of silver given unto it the year 1633. are judged to be (excepting all charges) at least thirty thousand duckats; wherewith those fat Fryers feast themselves, and have to spare to build, and enrich their Church and Altars. Besides much treasure belonging to it, there are two things in it, which the *Spaniards* in merri-
ment

ment would often tell me that the English Nation did much enquire after, when they took any ship of theirs at Sea, and that they feared I was come to spie them, which were a Lamp of silver hanging before the high Altar, so big as required the strength of three men to hale it up with a rope; but the other is of more value; which is a picture of the Virgin Mary of pure silver, and of the stature of a reasonable tall Woman, which standeth in a Tabernacle made on purpose in a Chappel of the Rosary, with at least a dozen lamps of silver also burning before it. A hundred thousand duckats might soon be made up of the treasure belonging to that Church and Cloister. Within the walls of the Cloister there is nothing wanting which may further pleasure and recreation. In the lower Cloister there is a spacious Garden, in the midst whereof is a fountain casting up the water, and spouting it out of at least a dozen pipes, which fill two ponds full of fishes, and with this their constant running give musick to the whole Cloister, and encouragement to many water-fowls and Ducks to bath and wash themselves therein. Yet further within the Cloister, there are other two gardens for Fruits and Herbage, and in the one a pond of a quarter of a mile long, all paved at the bottom, and a low stone wall about, where is a Boat for the Fryers recreation, who often go thither to fish, and do sometimes upon a sudden want or occasion take out from thence as much fish as will give to the whole Cloister a dinner. The other Cloisters of the City are also rich; but next to the Dominicans is the Cloister of Nuns, called the Conception, in which at my time there were judged to live a thousand women, not all Nuns, but their serving maids or slaves, and young children which were brought up and taught to work by the Nuns. The Nuns that are professed bring with them their portions, five hundred Duckats at least, some six hundred, some seven, and some a thousand, which portions after a few years (and continuing to the Cloister after the Nuns decease) come to make up a great yearly rent. They that will have maids within

to wait on them may, bringing the bigger portion, or allowing yearly for their servants diet. In this Cloister lived that *Donna Juana de Maldonado*, Judge *Juan Maldonado de Paz* his Daughter, whom the Bishop so much conversed withal. She was very fair and beautiful, and not much above twenty years of age, and yet his love blinding him, he strove what he could in my time against all the ancient Nuns and Sisters, to make her Superiour and Abbess, and caused such a mutiny and strife in that Cloister, which was very scandalous to the whole City, and made many rich Merchants and Gentlemen run to the Cloister with their swords drawn, threatening to break in amongst the Nuns to defend their daughters against the powerful faction which the Bishop had wrought for *Donna Juana de Maldonado*: which they had performed, if the President *Don Juan de Guzman* had not sent *Juan Maldonado de Paz*, the young Nuns father, to intreat her to desist in regard of her young age from her ambitious thoughts of being Abbess. With this the mutiny both within and without ceased, the Bishop got but shame, and his young Sister continued as before, under command and obedience to a more religious, grave, and aged Nun than her self. This *Donna Juana de Maldonado y Paz*, was the wonder of all that Cloister, yea of all the City for her excellent voice, and skill in musick, and in carriage and education yielded to none abroad nor within; she was witty, well spoken, and above all a *Calliope* or Muse for ingenious and sudden verses; which the Bishop said, so much moved him to delight in her company and conversation. Her Father thought nothing too good, nor too much for her; and therefore having no other children, he dayly conferred upon her riches, as might best bescem a Nun, as rich and costly Cabinets faced with gold and silver, pictures and Idols for her chamber, with crowns and jewels to adorn them; which with other presents from the Bishop (who dying in my time left not wherewith to pay his debts, for that as the report went, he had spent himself and given all unto his Nun) made this *Donna Juana de Maldona-*

do so rich and stately, that at her own charges she built for her self a new quarter within the Cloister with rooms and galleries, and a private garden walk, and kept at work and to wait on her half a dozen *Black-more* maids; but above all she placed her delight in a private Chappel or Closet to pray in, being hung with rich hangings, and round about it costly lamina's (as they call them) or pictures painted upon brasse set in black Ebony frames with corners of gold, some of silver brought her from *Rome*; her Altar was accordingly decked with Jewels, Candlesticks, Crowns, Lamps, and covered with a Canopy embroidered with gold; in her Closet she had her small Organ, and many sorts of musical instruments, whereupon she played sometimes by her self, sometimes with her best friends of the Nuns; and here especially she entertained with musick her beloved Bishop. Her Chappel or place of devotion was credibly reported about the City to be worth at least six thousands crowns which was enough for a Nun that had vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience. But all this after here decease she was to leave to the Cloister; and doubtless with this State, and riches she would win more and more the hearts of the common sort of Nuns, till she had made a strong party, which by this may have made her Abbess. This is ambition and desire of command and power crept into the walls of Nunneries, like the abominations in the wall of *Ezekiel*, and hath possessed the hearts of Nuns, which should be humble, poor, and mortified Virgins.

But besides this one Nun, there are more, and also Fryers, who are very rich, for if the City be rich (as is this) and great trading in it, they will be sure to have a share. Great plenty and wealth hath made the inhabitants as proud and vicious, as are those of *Mexico*. Here is not only Idolatry, but Fornication and Uncleaness as publick as in any place of the *India's*: The *Mulatta's*, *Black mores*, *Mestiza's*, *Indians*, and all common sort, of people are much made on by greater and richer sort, and go as gallantly apparell'd as do those of *Mexico*, fearing neither a

Vulcan or mountain of water on the one side, which they confesse hath once poured out a flood and river executing Gods wrath against sin there committed; neither a Vulcan of fire, or mouth of hell on the other side, roaring within and threatning to rain upon them *Sodom's* ruine and destruction; neither the weakness of their habitation, lying wide open on every side, without walls, or works, or bulwarks, to defend them, or without guns, drakes, bullets, or any Ammunition to scare away any approaching enemy, who may safely come and without resistance upon them who live as professed enemies of Jesus Christ. This is the City of St. *James* or *Santiago de Guatemala*, the head of a vast and ample Dominion, which extendeth it self nine hundred miles to *Nicoya* and *Costa Rica* South-ward; three hundred miles to *Chiapa* and *Zoques* North-ward; a hundred and fourscore miles to the further parts of *Vera Paz*, and the *Golfo dulce* East-ward; and to the South-sea twenty or thirty, in some places forty miles West-ward.

From *Tepoantepeque* (which is no harbour for any great ships) which standeth from *Guatemala* at least four hundred miles, there is no landing place for ships nearer to this City than is the Village *de la Trinidad*, or of the Trinity. The chief commodities which from along that coast are brought to *Guatemala*, are from the Provinces of *Soconusco* and *Suchutepeques*, which are extream hot, and subject to thunder and lightning, where groweth scarce any remarkable commodity, save only *Cacao*, *Achiote*, *Mecasuchil*, *Bainillar*, and other drugs for Chocolate, except it be some *Indigo* and *Cochinil* about St. *Antonio*, which is the chief and head Town of all the *Suchutepeques*. But all the coast neer joyning to *Guatemala*, especially about a Town called *Izquinta*, or *Izquintepeque*, twelve leagues from *Guatemala*, is absolutely the richest part of the Dominion of this City; for there is made the greatest part of the *Indigo* which is sent from *Honduras* to *Spain*; besides the mighty farms of Cattell which are along that marsh. Though the living there be profitable, and the soil rich,
yet

yet it is uncomfortable by reason of the great heat, thundrings and lightnings, especially from May to *Michaelmas*. If *Guatemala* be strong (though not in Weapons or Ammunition) in people, it is strong from hence from a desperate sort of *Black moors*, who are slaves in those *Estancia's* and farms of *Indigo*. Though they have no weapons but a *Machette*, which is a short Tuck, or lances to run at the wild Cattel, yet with these they are so desperate, that the City of *Guatemala* hath often been afraid of them, and the Masters of their own slaves and servants. Some of them fear not to encounter a Bull though wild and mad, and to grapple in the rivers (which are many there) with Crocodiles, or *Cagarto's*, as there they call them, till they have overmastered them, and brought them out to land from the water.

This hot, but rich Country runs on by the Sea side unto the Village of *Trinity*, which (though somewhat dangerous) yet is a Haven for Ships from *Panama*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*; It serves to enrich *Guatemala*, but not to strengthen it, for it hath neither Fort, nor Bulwark, nor Castle, nor any Ammunition to defend itself. Between the Village and the other Haven called *Realejo*, there is a great Creek from the Sea; where small vessels do use to come in for fresh water and Victuals to *St. Miguel*, a Town of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, from whence those that travel to *Realejo* pass over in less than a day, to a Town of *Indians* called *la Vieja*, two miles from *Realejo*, whither the journey by land from *St. Miguel*, is of at least three days. But neither this Creek or Arm of the Sea is fortified (which might be done with one or two pieces of Ordinance at most placed at the mouth of the seas entrance) neither is the *Realejo* strong with any Ammunition, no nor with people, for it consists not of above two hundred families, and most of them are *Indians* and *Mestizo's*, a people of no courage, and very unfit to defend such an open passage to *Guatemala*, and *Nicaragua*, which here begins and continues in small and petty *Indian* Towns unto *Leon* and *Granada*.

On the North side of *Guatemala*, I shall not need to add to what hath been said of *Suchetepeques* and *Soconusco*, and my journey that way from *Mexico* and *Chiapa*. The chief side of *Guatemala* is that on the East, which points out the way to the Gulf, or *Golfo dulce*, or as others call it *St. Thomas de Castilia*. This way is more beaten by mules and Travellers, than that on the North side, for that *Mexico* standeth three hundred leagues from this City, and the Gulf but 60, and here are no such passages as are in some places in the Road to *Mexico*. Besides the great trading, commerce, and traffique, which this City enjoyeth by that Gulf from *Spain*, hath made that Road exceed all the rest. In *July*, or at farthest in the beginning of *August* come into that Gulf three ships, or two and a frigate, and unlade what they have brought from *Spain* in *Bodega's* or great Lodges, built on purpose to keep dry and from the weather the commodities. They presently make hast to lade again from *Guatemala* those Merchants commodities of return, which peradventure have lain waiting for them in the *Bodega's* two or three months, before the ships arrival. So that these three months of *July*, *August* and *September*, there is sure to be found a great treasure. And O the simplicity or security of the *Spaniards*, who appoint no other watch over these their riches, save only one or two *Indians* and as many *Mulatto's*, who commonly are such as have for their misdemeanours been condemned to live in that old and ruinated Castle of *St. Thomas de Castilia*! True it is, above it there is a little and ragged Town of *Indians*, called *St. Pedro*, consisting of some thirty families, who by reason of the exceeding heat, and unhealthiness of the air, are always sickly and scarce able to stand upon their legs. But the weakness of this Gulf within might well be remedied and supplied at the mouth of the Sea, or entrance into it by one or two at the most good pieces of Ordnance placed there. For the entrance into this Gulf is but as one should come in at the door of some great Palace, where although the door and entrance be narrow, the house within is wide and capa-

cious. Such is this Gulf, whose entrance is straitned with two Rocks or Mountains on each side (which would well become two great pieces, and so scorn a whole Fleet, and secure the Kingdom of *Guatemala*, nay most of all *America*) but here being no watch nor defence, the ships come freely and safely in (as have done some both *English* and *Holland* Ships) and being entred find a road and harbour so wide and capacious as may well secure a thousand ships there riding at anchor, without any thought of fear from *St. Pedro*, or *Santo Thomas de Castilia*. I have often heard the *Spaniards* jeer and laugh at the *English* and *Hollanders*, for that they having come into this Gulf, have gone away without attempting any thing further upon the land. Nay while I lived there, the *Hollanders* set upon *Truxillo* the head Port of *Comayagua* and *Honduras*, and took it, (though there were some resistance) the people for the most part flying to the woods, trusting more to their feet than to their hands and weapons (such cowards is all that Country full of) and whilst they might have fortified themselves there, and gone into the Country, or fortifying that have come on to the Gulf (all *Guatemala* fearing it much and not being able to resist them) they left *Truxillo*, contenting themselves with a small pillage, and gave occasion to the *Spaniards* to rejoyce, and to make processions of Thanksgiving for their safe deliverance out of their enemies hands.

The way from this Gulf to *Guatemala* is not so bad as some report and conceive, especially after *Michaelmas* until *May*, when the winter and rain is past and gone, and the winds begin to dry up the ways. For in the worst of the year Mules laden with four hundred weight at least go easily through the steepest, deepest, and most dangerous passages of the Mountains that lie about this Gulf. And though the ways are at that time of the year bad, yet they are so beaten with the Mules, and so wide and open, that one bad step and passage may be avoided for a better; and the worst of this way continues but 15 leagues there being *Rancho's* or *Lodges* in the way, Cattel and
Mules

Mules also among the Woods and Mountains, for relief and comfort to a weary Traveller. What the *Spaniards* most fear until they come out of these Mountains, are some two or three hundred *Blackmoors*, *Simarrones*, who for too much hard usage, have fled away from *Guatemala* and other parts from their Masters unto these woods, and there live and bring up their children and increase daily, so that all the power of *Guatemala*, nay all the Country about (having often attempted it) is not able to bring them under subjection. These often come out to the road way, and set upon the Requa's of Mules, and take of Wine, Iron, Clothing and Weapons from them as much as they need, without doing any harm unto the people, or slaves that go with the Mules; but rather these rejoyce with them, being of one colour, and subject to slavery and misery which the others have shaken off; by whose example and encouragement many of these shake of their misery, and joyn with them to enjoy liberty, though it be but in the Woods and Mountains. Their Weapons are bows and arrows which they use and carry about them, only to defend themselves, if the *Spaniards* set upon them; else they use them not against the *Spaniards*, who travel quietly and give them part of what provision they carry. These have often said that the chief cause of their flying to those mountains is to be in a readines to joyn with the *English* and *Hollanders*, if ever they land in the Gulf; for they know, from them they may enjoy that liberty which the *Spaniards* will never grant unto them. After the first 15 leagues the way is better, and there are little Towns and Villages of *Indians*, who relieve with provision both man and beast, Fifteen leagues further is a great Town of *Indians*, called *Acasabaflan*, standing upon a river, which for fish is held the best in all that Country. Though there are many sorts, yet above all there is one which they call Bobo, a thick round fish as long or longer than a mans arm, with only a middle bone as white as milk, as fat as butter, and good to boil, fry, stew or bake. There is also from hence most of the way to *Guatemala* in brooks and shallow rivers, one of

the best sort of fishes in the world, which the *Spaniards* judge to be a kind of Trout, it is called there *Tepemechin*, the fat whereof resembles veal more than fish.

This Town of *Acacabastlan* is governed by a *Spaniard* who is called *Corrigidor*; his power extendeth no further than to the Gulf, and to those Towns in the way. This Governour hath often attempted to bring in those *Simarrones* from the Mountains, but could never prevail against them. All the strength of this place may be some twenty Muskets (for so many *Spanish* houses there may be in the Town) and some few *Indians* that use bows and arrows, for the defence of the Town against the *Black-moor Simarrones*.

About *Acacabastlan*, there are many *Estancia's* of Cattel and Mules, much Cacao, Achiotte, and drugs for Chocolate; There is also Apothecary drugs, as *Zarzaparilla*, and *Canna fistula*, and in the Town as much variety of fruits and gardens, as in any one *Indian* Town in the Country; But above all *Acacabastlan* is far known, and much esteemed of in the City of *Guatemala*, for excellent Musk-melons, some small, some bigger than a mans head, wherewith the *Indians* load their mules and carry them to sell all over the Country. From hence to *Guatemala*, there are but thirty short leagues, and though some hills there be, ascents and descents, yet nothing troublesome to man or beast. Among these mountains there have been discovered some mines of metal, which the *Spaniards* have begun to dig, and finding that they have been some of Copper, and some of Iron, they have let them alone, judging them more chargeable than profitable. But greater profit have the *Spaniards* lost, than of Iron and Copper, for using the poor *Indians* too hardly, and that in this way, from *Acacabastlan* to *Guatemala*, especially about a place called, *el Agua Caliente* the hot water, where is a River, out of which in some places formerly the *Indians* found such store of gold, that they were charged by the *Spaniards* with a yearly tribute of gold. But the *Spaniards* being like *Valdivia* in *Chille*, too greedy after it, murdering the

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the *Indians* for not discovering to them whereabout this treasure lay, have lost both treasure and *Indians* also. Yet unto this day search is made about the Mountains, the River, and the sands for the hidden treasure which peradventure by Gods order and appointment, doth and shall lie hid, and be kept for a people better knowing and honouring their God. At this place called *el Agne Caliente*, or the hot water, liveth a Blackmore in an Estancia of his own, who is held to be very rich, and gives good entertainment to the Travellers that pass that way; he is rich in Cattel, Sheep, and Goats, and from his Farm stores *Guatemala* and the people thereabout with the best cheese of all that Country. But his riches are thought not so much to increase from his Farm and cheeses, but from this hidden treasure, which credibly is reported to be known unto him. He hath been questioned about it in' the Chancery of *Guatemala*, but hath denyed often any such treasure to be known unto him. The jealousie and suspicion of him, is, for that formerly having been a slave, he bought his freedom with great sums of mony, and since he hath been free hath bought that farm and much land lying to it, and hath exceedingly increased his stock; To which he answereth, that when he was young and a slave, he had a good Master, who let him get for himself what he could, and that he playing the good husband, gathered as much as would buy his liberty, and at first a little house to live in, to the which God hath since given a blessing with a greater increase of stock. From this hot water three or four leagues, there is another River called, *Rio de las Vacas*, or the River of Cows, where are a company of poor and Country people most of them Mestizo's, and Mulatto's, who live in thatched houses, with some small stock of Cattel, spending their time also in searching for sands of Gold, hoping that one day by their diligent search they and their children, and all their Country shall be enriched, and that *Rio de las Vacas*, shall parallel *Pactolus*, and stir up the wits of Poets to speak of it as much as ever they have spoke of that. From this River is presently discovered the

pleasantest Valley in all that Country, (where my self did live at least five years) called the Valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, lying six leagues from *Guatemala*, being fifteen miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth; Out of the inclosures this Valley is stored with sheep, the ground inclosed is divided into many Farms, where groweth better wheat than any in the Country of *Mexico*. From this Valley the City is well provided of wheat, and Bisket is made for the ships that come every year unto the Gulf. It is called the Valley of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from two Towns of *Indians*, so called, standing opposite the one to the other on each side of the Valley, *Pinola* on the left side from *Rio de las Vaccas*, and *Mixco* on the right. Here do live many rich Farmers, but yet Country and clownish people, who know more of breaking clods of earth, than of managing Arms offensive or defensive. But among them I must not forget one friend of mine, called *Juan Palomeque*, whom I should have more esteemed of than I did, if I could have prevailed with him to have made him live more like a man than a beast, more like a free man than a bond slave to his Gold and Silver. This man had in my time three hundred lusty mules trained up in the way of the Gulf, which he divided into six Requa's or companies; and for them he kept above a hundred *Black-moor* slaves, men, women and children who lived near *Mixco* in several thatch'd Cortages. The house he lived in himself was but a poor thatched house, wherein he took more delight to live than in other houses which he had in *Guatemala*, for there he lived like a wild *Simarron* among his slaves and *Black moors*, whereas in the City he should have lived civilly; there he lived with milk, curds, and black, hard, and mouldy bisket, and with dry *tassajo*, which is dry salted beef cut out in thin slices and dryed in the sun and wind, till there be little substance left in it, such as his slaves were wont to carry to the Gulf for their provision by the way, whereas if he had lived in the City, he must have eat for his credit what others of worth did eat. But the miser knew well, which was the best way to save, and so chose a field for a City,

City, a cottage for a house, a company of *Simarrones* and *Black-moors* for Citizens, and yet he was thought to be worth six hundred thousand duckats. He was the undoer of all others who dealed with Mules for bringing and carrying commodities to the Gulf for the Merchants; for he having lusty mules, lusty slaves, would set the price or rate for the hundred weight so, as he might get, but others at that rate hiring *Indians* and servants to go with their Mules, might lose. He was so cruel to his *Black-moors*, that if any were untoward, he would torment them almost to death; amongst whom he had one slave called *Macaco* (for whom I have often interceded, but to little purpose) whom he would often hang up by the arms, and whip him till the blood ran about his back, and then his flesh being torn, mangled, and all in a gore blood, he would for last cure pour boiling grease upon it; he had marked him for a slave with burning irons upon his face, his hands, his arms, his back, his belly, his thighs, his legs, that the poor slave was weary of life, and I think would two or three times have hanged himself, if I had not counselled him to the contrary. He was so sensual and carnal that he would use his own slaves wives at his pleasure; nay when he met in the City any of that kind handsome, and to his liking, if she would not yield to his desire, he would go to her master or mistress, and buy her, offering far more than she was worth, boasting that he would pull down her proud and haughty looks, with one years slavery under him. He killed in my time two *Indians* in the way to the Gulf, and with his mony came off, as if he had killed but a dog. He would never marry, because his slaves supplied the bed of a wife, and none of his neighbours durst say him nay; whereby he hastened to fill that valley with bastards of all sorts and colours, by whom, when that rich miser dieth, all his wealth and treasure is like to be consumed.

Besides the two Towns which denominate this valley, there standeth at the East end of it close by the *Rio de las Vacas* an Ermitage, called, *Nuestra Sennora del Carmel*, or

our Lady of *Carmel*, which is the Parish-Church to all those several farms of *Spaniards* living in the valley; though true it is, most constantly they do resort unto the *Indian Towns* to Mass, and in *Mixco* especially, the *Spaniards* have a rich sodality of our Lady of the Rosary, and the *Black-moors* another. In all the valley there may be between forty and fifty *Spanish* farms or houses belonging to the *Ermitage*, and in all these houses, some three hundred slaves, men and women, *Blackmoors* and *Mulatto's*. *Mixco* is a Town of three hundred families, but in it nothing considerable, but the riches belonging unto the two forenamed Sodalities, and some rich *Indians*, who have learned of the *Spaniards* to break clods of earth, and to sow wheat, and to traffique with Mules unto the Gulf. Besides what fowls and great store of *Turkies* which in this Town are bred, there is a constant slaughter house, where meat is sold to the *Indians* within, and to the farms without, and provision is made for all the *Requa's* and slaves that go to the Gulf with their Masters Mules. Besides the six *Requa's* before named of *Juan Palomeque*, there are in this Valley four brothers, named, *Don Gaspar*, *Don Diego*, *Don Thomas*, *Don Juan de Colindres*, who have each of them a *Requa* of threescore Mules (though few slaves, and only hired *Indians* to go with them) to traffique to the Gulf, and over all the Country as far as *Mexico* sometimes. Yet besides these there are some six more *Requa's* belonging to other farms, which with those of the Town of *Mixco* may make up full twenty *Requa's*; and those twenty *Requa's* contain above a thousand Mules, which only from this Valley are employed to all parts of the Country by the rich Merchants of *Guatemala*. But to return again to the Town of *Mixco*, the constant passage through it of these *Requa's*, of rich Merchants, of all passengers that go and come from *Spain*, hath made it very rich; whereas in the Town it self there is no other commodity, except it be a kind of earth, whereof are made rare and excellent pots for water, pans, pipkins, platters, dishes, chating-dishes, warming-pans; wherein those

those *Indians* shew much wit, and paint them with red, white, and several mingled colours, and sell them to *Guatemala*, and the Towns about, which some *Criolians* women will eat by full mouth-fuls, endangering their health and lives, so that by this earthen ware they may look white and pale. The Town of *Pinola* in bigness is much like unto *Mixco*, but a far pleasanter Town, more healthy and better seated, standing upon a plain, whereas *Mixco* stands on the side of a hill, which carryeth the Travellers quite out of sight of the valley. In *Pinola* there is also a slaughter house, where Beef is daily sold, there is plenty of fowls, fruits, maiz, wheat, (though not altogether so bright as that of *Mixco*) hony, and the best water thereabout ; it is called in the *Indian* tongue *Panac*, (some say) from a fruit of that name which is very abundant there. On the North and South side of this valley are hills, which are most sown with wheat, which proveth better than in the low valley. At the west end of it, stand two greater Towns than *Mixco* and *Pinola*, named *Petapa*, and *Amatitlan*, to the which there are in the midst of the valley some descents and ascents ; which they call *Baranca's* or bottoms, where are pleasant streams and fountains, and good feeding for sheep, and Cattel.

Petapa is a Town of at least five hundred inhabitants very rich, who suffer also some *Spaniards* to dwell amongst them, from whom also those *Indians* have learned to live and thrive in the world. This Town is the passage from *Comayagua*, *St. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, and *Costa Rica*, and hath got great wealth by the constant goers and comers. It is esteemed one of the pleasantest Towns belonging unto *Guatemala*, for a great Lake of fresh water neer unto it, which is full of fish, especially Crabs, and a fish called *Mojarra*, which is much like unto a Mullet (though not altogether so big) and eateth like it. In this Town there is a certain number of *Indians* appointed, who are to fish for the City, and on Wednesdays, Frydays and Saturdays, are bound to carry such a quantity to *Guatemala*, of Crabs and *Mojarra's* as the Corrigidor and

and Regidores, Mayor and Aldermen (who are but eight) shall command weekly to be brought.

This Town *Petapa* is so called from two *Indian* words, *Petap*, which signifieth a Mat, and *ba*, which signifieth water, and a Mat being the chief part of an *Indians* bed, it is as much as to say a bed of water, from the smoothness, plainness, and calmness of the water of the Lake. There liveth in it a principal family of *Indians* who are said to descend from the ancient Kings of those parts, and now by the *Spaniards* are graced with the noble name of *Guzman*; out of this family is chosen one to be Governour of the Town with subordination unto the City and Chancery of *Guatemala*. *Don Barnabe de Guzman* was Governour in my time, and had been many years before, and governed very wisely and discreetly till with old age he came to lose his sight; and in his place entered his son *Don Pedor de Guzman*, of whom the rest of the *Indians* stood in great awe, as formerly they had to his Father. Had not these *Indians* been given to drunkenness (as most *Indians* are) they might have governed a Town of *Spaniards*. This Governour hath many priviledges granted unto him (though none to wear a sword, or rapier, as may the Governour of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*) and appoints by turns some of the Town to wait and attend on him at dinner and supper, others to look to his Horses, others to fish for him, others to bring him wood for his house spending, others to bring him meat for his Horses; and yet after all this his attendance, he attends and waits on the Fryer that lives in the Town, and doth nothing concerning the governing of the Town and executing of justice, but what the Fryer alloweth and adviseth to be done. There is also great service appointed for this Fryer, of Fishermen, and other attendants in his house, who liveth as stately as any Bishop. Most trades belonging to a well settled Common-wealth, are here exercised by these *Indians*. As for herbage, and garden-fruits and requisites, it hath whatsoever may be found or desired in the City of *Guatemala*. The Church treasure is very great

great, there being many Sodalities of our Lady and other their Saints, which are enriched with crowns, and chains, and bracelets, besides the lamps, censors, and silver candlesticks belonging unto the Altars. Upon *Michaelmas* day is the chief fair and feast of the Town, which is dedicated unto *S. Michael*, whither many Merchants resort from *Guatemala* to buy and sell; in the afternoon, and the next day following, Bull-baiting is the common sport for that feast, with some *Spaniards* and *Black-mores* on Horse-back, and other *Indians* on foot, who commonly being drunk, some venture, some lose their lives in the sport. Besides this general concourse of people every year at that time, there is every day at five a clock in the afternoon a *Tianquez* or Market, upheld by the concourse of the *Indians* of the Town among themselves. Besides the lake, there runneth by this Town a river, which in some places is easily waded over, and waters the fruits, gardens, and other plantations, and drives a mill which serves most of the valley to grind their wheat. Within a mile and a half of this Town there is a rich *Ingenio* or farm of Sugar belonging to one *Sebastian de Savaletta*, a *Biscain* born, who came at first very poor into that Country, and served one of his Country men; but with his good industry and pains, he began to get a Mule or two to traffique with about the Country, till at last he increased his stock to a whole *Requa* of Mules, and from thence grew so rich that he bought much land about *Petapa*, which he found to be very fit for Sugar, and from thence was encouraged to build a princely house, whither the best of *Guatemala* do resort for their recreation. This man maketh a great deal of Sugar for the Country, and sends every year much to *Spain*; he keepeth at least threescore slaves of his own for the work of his farm, is very generous in house keeping, and is thought to be worth above five hundred thousand Duckats. Within half a mile from him there is another farm of Sugar, which is called but a *Trapiche* belonging unto the *Augustin Fryers* of *Guatemala*, which keeps some twenty slaves, and is called a *Trapiche*, for that it grinds not the Sugar Cane with that device

device of the Ingenio, but grinds a less quantity, and so makes not so much Sugar as doth an Ingenio. From hence three miles is the Town of *Amatitlan*, neer unto which standeth a greater Ingenio of Sugar, than is that of *Savalletta*, and is called the Ingenio of one *Anis*, because he first founded it, but now it belongeth unto one *Pedro Crespo* the Postmaster of *Guatemala*; this Ingenio seemeth to be a little Town by it self for the many cottages and thatched houses of *Black-moor* slaves which belong unto it, who may be above a hundred, men, women, and children. The chief dwelling house is strong and capacious, and able to entertain a hundred lodgers. These three farms of Sugar standing so neer unto *Guatemala*, enrich the City much, and occasion great trading from it to *Spain*. The Town of *Amatitlan*, though in it there live not so many *Spaniards* as in *Petapa*, yet there are in it more *Indian* families than in *Petapa*. The streets are more orderly made and framed like a Chequer board, they are wide, board, plain, and all upon dust and sand. This Town also enjoyeth the commodity of the lake, and furnisheth with fish the City of *Guatemala*, upon those days before named of *Petapa*. And though it standeth out of the road-way, yet it is almost as rich as *Petapa*. For the *Indians* of it get much by the concourse of common people, and the Gentry of *Guatemala*, who resort thither to certain baths of hot waters, which are judged and approved very wholesom for the body. This Town also getteth much by the salt which here is made, or rather gathered by the lake side, which every morning appeareth like a hoary frost upon the ground, and is taken up and purified by the *Indians*, and proves very white and good. Besides what they get by the salt, they get also by the Requa's of Mules in the valley, and about the Country, which are brought to feed upon that salt earth a day, or half a day, until they be ready to burst (the owner paying six pence a day for every Mule) and it hath been found by experience, that this makes them thrive and grow lusty, and purgeth them better than any drench, or blood-letting. They have further

ther great trading in Cotton-wool, more abundance of fruits than *Petapa*, a fairer market-place with two extraordinary great Elm-trees, under which the *Indians* daily meet at evening to buy and sell. The Church of this Town is as fair and beautiful as any about *Guatemala*, the riches and state whereof hath caused the Dominican Fryers since the year 1635, to make that place the head and Priory over the other Towns of the valley, and to build there a goodly and sumptuous Cloister, in which in my time there was (for I told then most of it, and doubtless since it hath much increased) eight thousand Duckats laid up in a chest, with three locks for the common expences of the Cloister. Thus my Reader, I have led thee through the valley of *Mixco*, and *Pinola*, *Petapa* and *Amatitlan*, which in riches and wealth, what with the great trading in it, what with the sheep and cattel, what with the abundance of mules, what with three Farms of Sugar, what with the great Farms of Corn and Wheat, what with the Churches treasures, yields to no other place belonging unto the dominions of *Guatemala*. I may not forget yet a double wheat harvest (as I may well term it) in this Valley. The first being of a little kind of Wheat, which they call *Trigo Tremefino*, (a word compounded in *Spanish* from these two words, *tres meses*, or from the Latin *tres menses*) which after three months sowing is ripe and ready to be cut down, and being sowed about the end of *August*, is commonly harvested in about the end of *November*, and although in the smallness of it, it seems to have but a little Flour, yet it yields as much as their other sort of Wheat, and makes as white bread, though it keep not so well as that which is made of other Wheat, but soon groweth stale and hard. The other harvest (which is of two sorts of Wheat, one called *Rubio* or red Wheat, the other called *Blanquillo*, or white like *Candia* Wheat) followeth soon after this first of *Tremefino*, for presently after Christmas every one begins to bring their sickles into the field, where they do not only reap down their Wheat, but instead of threshing it in barns, they cause it to be trod by Mares inclosed within

within floors made on purpose in the fields; and when the Wheat is trod out of the Ears by the Mares trampling, they are whipped round about the floors that they may who stand still, but tread it constantly and thoroughly; then not Mares being let out of the floors, the Wheat is winnowed from the chaff, and put up clean into sacks, and from the field carried to the Barns; but the chaff and most of the straw is left to rot in the fields, which they esteem as good as dunging; and further set all the fields on fire, burning the stubble that is left a little before the time of the first showers of rain, which with the ashes left after the burning fatteth the ground, and by them is held the best way to husband or dung their ground. Others that will sow a new and woody piece of land, cause the trees though timber trees to be cut down, and sell not a stick of that wood, (which there is so plentiful, that they judge it would not quit their cost to carry it to *Guatemala*, though in *England* it would yield thousands of pounds) but they let it lie and dry, and before the winter rain begins, they set on fire all the field, and burn that rich timber, with the ashes whereof that ground becomes so fat and fertile, that where upon an Acre we sow here three bushels of Wheat, or upwards, they sow such ground so thin, that they scarce dare venture a full bushel upon an Acre, lest with too much spreading upon the ground it grow too thick, be lodged, and they lose their crop. The like they do unto the pasture of the Valley, about the end of *March*, it is short and withered and dry, and they also set it on fire, which being burnt causeth a dismal sight, and prospect of a black Valley; but after the first two or three showers, it puts on again its green and pleasant garment, inviting the Cattel, Sheep, Lambs, Goats, and Kids, (which for a while were driven away to other pasturing) to return and sport again, to feed and rest in its new flourishing bosom. But now it is time, I return again back to the other end of this Valley, to the *Rio de las Vacas* (from whence I have viewed the compass of it, and made my long digression from East to West, to the farthest Town of *Amatitlan*) to shew thee, my Reader,

der, the little part of thy way remaining unto *Guatemala*. True it is, from the *Ermitage* of our Lady, there is a streight way through the middle of the Valley leading almost to *Amatitlan*, and then turning up a hill out of the Valley on the right hand; But that hath many ascents and descents, bottoms, falls and risings, and therefore is not the constant Road, which from the *Ermitage*, pointeth on the right hand, observing the Town of *Mixco*, standing but five miles from *Guatemala*, from *Mixco* the way lyeth up a hill, and leadeth to a Town somewhat bigger than *Mixco*, of *Indians* called *San Lucas*, or *St. Luke*, a cold Town, but exceeding rich; the temper and coldness of it hath made it the storehouse, or Granary for all the City; for whereas below in the Valley, the Wheat will not keep long without musting, and breeding a worm called *Gurgojo*, such is the temper of this Town of *St. Luke*, that in it the Wheat will keep two or three years ready threshed, with a little turning now and then; and as it lyeth will give and yield, (as experience taught me there) so that he that hath laid up in that Town two hundred bushels of Wheat, at the years end shall find neer upon two hundred and twenty bushels. This Town therefore receives from the Valley most of the harvest, and is full of what we call Barns, but there are called *Trojas*, without floors, but raised up with stacks and bords a foot or two from the ground, and covered with mats, whereon is laid the wheat, and by some rich Monopolists from the City is kept and hoarded two and three years, until they find their best opportunity to bring it out to sale, at the rate of their own will and pleasure. From hence to *Guatemala* there is but three little leagues, and one only *Baranca* or bottom, and on every side of the way little petty Towns which they call *Milpas*, consisting of some twenty Cottages. In the middle of the way is the top of a hill, which discovereth all the City, and standeth as overmastering of it, as if with a piece or two of Ordinance it would keep all *Guatemala* in awe; But besides this hill which is the wide and open Road, there stand yet forwarder on the right and left hand

hand other mountains which draw neerer to the City, and what this top peradventure with too much distance, is not able to do or reach, the others certainly would reach with Canon shot and command that far commanding City. Down this hill the way lies broad and wide, and as open as is the way down *Barnet* or *High gate* Hill, and at the bottom it is more straitned between the Mountains, for the space of a bowshot, which passage also is craggy by reason of stones and some small pieces of rocks which lie in a brook of water that descends from the Mountains, and runs toward the City. But at a little Ermitage called *St. John*, the way opens again it self, and sheweth *Guatemala*, welcoming the weary travellers with a pleasant prospect, and easing theirs, or their mules or Horses feet, what with green walks, what with a sandy and gravelly Road unto the City, which never shut gate against any goer or comer, nor forbad their entrance with any fenced walls, or watchmens jealous questions, but freely and gladly entertains them either by the back side of the Dominicans Cloister, or by the Church and Nunnery called the Conception. And thus my Reader and Country-man I have brought and guided thee from the Gulf unto *Guatemala*, shewing for what that way is most remarkable. I shall not now shew thee any more of this Cities Dominions toward *Nicaragua* and the South (having already shewn thee the way as far as *Realejo*) leaving that till I come to tell thee of my journey homewards, which I made that way. There remains yet the Country of the *Vera Paz* and the way unto it to discover, and so to close up this Chapter. The *Vera Paz* is so called, for that the *Indians* of that Country hearing how the *Spaniards* had conquered *Guatemala*, and did conquer the Country round about, wheresoever they came, yielded themselves peaceably and without any resistance unto the Government of *Spain*. This Country formerly had a Bishop to it self distinct from *Guatemala*, but now is made one Bishoprick with that. It is governed by an *Alcalde Maior*, or high Justice sent from *Spain*, with subordination to the Court of *Guatemala*. The head or shire

Town of it, is called *Coban*, where is a Cloister of Dominican Fryers, and the common place of residence of the Alcalde Major. All this Country as yet is not subdued by the *Spaniards*, who have now and then some strong encounters with the barbarous and heathen people, which lie between this country and *Jucatan*; and fain would the *Spaniards* conquer them, that they might make way through them unto a Town called *Campin* belonging to *Jucatan*, and settle Commerce, and Traffique by land with that Country, which is thought would be a great furtherance to the Country and City of *Guatemala*, and a safer way to convey their goods to the *Havana*, than by the Gulf, for oftentimes the Ships that go from the Gulf to the *Havana*, are met with by the *Hollanders* and surpris'd. But as yet the *Spaniards* have not been able to bring to pass this their Design, by reason they have found strong Resistance from the heathenish People, and a hot Service to attempt the conquering of them. Yet there was a Fryer a great acquaintance of mine, called Fryer *Francisco Moran*, who ventured his Life among those Barbarians, and with two or three *Indians* went on foot through that Country, till he came to *Campin*, where he found a few *Spaniards*, who wondred at his Courage and Boldness in coming that way. This Fryer came back again to *Coban* and *Vera Paz*, relating how the Barbarians hearing him speak their Language, and finding him kind, loving, and courteous to them, used him also kindly, fearing (as he said) that if they should kill him, the *Spaniards* would never let them be at Rest and Quiet till they had utterly destroyed them. He related when he came back, that the Country which the Barbarians inhabit, is better than any part of the *Vera Paz*, which is subject to the *Spaniards*, and spoke much of a Valley, where is a great Lake, and about it a Town of *Indians*, which he judg'd to be of at least twelve thousand Inhabitants, the Cottages lying at a distance one from another. This Fryer hath writ of this Country, and hath

gone to *Spain* to the Court to motion the conquering of it, for the Profit and Commodity that may ensue both to *Guatemala* and *Jucatan*, if a way were opened thither. But though as yet on that side the *Spaniards* and the Country of the *Vera Paz*, be straightned by that heathenish People, yet on the other side it hath free Passage unto the Gulf, and trade there when the Ships do come, carrying Fowls and what other Provision the Country will afford for the Ships, and bringing from thence Wines, and other *Spanish* Wares to *Coban*. This Country is very hilly and craggy, and though there be some big Towns in it, there are not above three or four that are considerable. The chief Commodities are *Achiotte* (which is the best of all the Country belonging to *Guatemala*) and *Cacao*, Cotten-wool, Hony, *Canna fistula*, and *Sarzaparilla*, great store of *Maiz*, but no Wheat, much Wax, plenty of fowl and Birds of all coloured Feathers, wherewith the *Indians* make some curious Works, but not like those of *Mechoacan*. Here are also abundance of Parrets, Apes and Monkeys which breed in the Mountains. The way from *Guatemala*, to this Country is that which hitherto hath been spoken of from the Gulf, as far as the Town of *St. Luke*; and from thence the way keeps on the Hills and Mountains which lie on the side of the Valley of *Mixco*. These Hills are called *Sacatepeques*, (compounded of *Sacate* and *Tepec*, the latter signifying a Hill, and the former, Herb, or Grass, and thus joyned, they signifie Mountains of grass) and among them are these chief Towns, first, *Santjago*, or *St. James*, a Town of five hundred Families; secondly, *San Pedro* or *St. Peter*, consisting of six hundred Families; thirdly, *St. Juan* or *St. John*, consisting also of at least six hundred Families; and fourthly *Sto. Domingo Senaco*, or *St. Dominic* of *Senaco*, being of three hundred Families. These four Towns are very rich, and the two last very cold, the two first are warmer; there are about them many Farms of Corn and good Wheat, besides the *Indian Maiz*. These *Indians* are some what of more
Courage

Courage than those of other Towns, and in my time were like to rise up against the *Spaniards* for their unmerciful Tyranny over them. The Churches are exceeding rich; in the Town of *Santjago*, there was living in my time one *Indian*, who for only vain-glory had bestowed the worth of six thousand Duckats upon that Church, and yet afterwards this Wretch was found to be a Wizard and Idolater. These *Indians* get much Money by letting out great Tuffs of Feathers, which the *Indians* use in their dances upon the Feasts of the Dedication of their Towns. For some of the great Tuffs may have at least threescore long Feathers of divers colours, for every Feather hiring they have half a Rial, besides what price they set to every Feather, if any should chance to be lost. From the Town of *St. John*, which is the furthest, the way lies plain and pleasant to a little village of some twenty Cottages, called *St. Ramundo* or *St. Raymond*, from whence there is a good days journey up and down *Barrancas*, or bottoms to a *Rancho*, or Lodge standing by a River side, which is the same River that passes by the Town of *Acacabaflan* spoken of before. From this is an Ascent or a very craggy and rocky Mountain, called the Mountain of *Rabinal*, where are steps cut out in the very Rocks for the Mules feet, and slipping on one or the other side they fall surely down the Rocks breaking their Necks, and mangling all their Limbs and Joynts, but this Danger continues not long nor extends above a League and a half, and in the top and worst of this danger, there is the comfort of a goodly valley, called *El Valle de San Nicolas*, *St. Nicolas* his Valley, from an *Estantia* called *St. Nicolas* belonging to the Dominicans Cloister of *Coban*. This Valley, though it must not compare with that of *Mixco* and *Pinola*; yet next after it, it may well take place, for only three things considerable in it. The first is an *Ingenio* of Sugar, called *San Geronymo*, or *St. Hierome*, belonging to the Dominicans Cloister of *Guatemala*, which indeed goes beyond that spoken

of *Amatitlan*, both for abundance of Sugar made there and sent by Mules to *Guatemala* over that rocky Mountain, and for Multitude of Slaves living in it under the command of two Fryers, and for the excellent Horses bred there, which are incomparably the best of all the Country of *Guatemala* for Mettle and Gallantry, and therefore (though Mules are commonly used for burthens) are much desired and looked after by the Gallants and Gentry of the City, who make it a great part of their honour to prance about the Streets. The second thing in this Valley is the *Estancia*, or Farm of St. *Nicolas*, which is as famous for breeding of Mules as is St. *Hierome* for Horses. The third Ornament to it is a Town of *Indians*, called *Rabinal*, of at least eight hundred Families, which hath all that heart can wish, for Pleasure and Life of man. It inclines rather to Heat than Cold, but the Heat is moderate and much qualified with the many cool and shady Walks. There is not any *Indian* Fruit, which is not there to be found, besides the Fruits of *Spain*, as Oranges, Lemons, sweet and sour, Citrons, Pomegranates, Grapes, Figs, Almonds, and Dates; the only want of Wheat is not a want to them that mind Bread of Wheat more than of Maiz, for in two days it is easily brought from the Towns of *Sacatepeques*. For Flesh, it hath Beef, Mutton, Kid, Fowls, Turkeys, Quails Partridges, Rabbits, Pheasants; and for Fish, it hath a River running by the Houses, which yields plenty both great and small. The *Indians* of this town are much like those of *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, for Bravery, for Feasting, for Riding of Horses, and shewing themselves in Sports and Pastimes. This Town my Friend Fryer *John Baptist*, after he had been Prior of many Places, and especially of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, chose to live in to enjoy Quietness, Pleasure and Content; and in this Town was I feasted by him in such a sumptuous, prodigal and lavishing way, as truly might make poor Mendicant Fryers ashamed to come
so

so near to Princes in vanity of Life and Dyet. From this Valley to the *Vera Paz*, or *Coban*, the head-Town of it, there is nothing considerable, save only one Town more called *St. Christoval*, or *St. Christopher*, which enjoys now a pleasant Lake, and bottomless, as is reported. Formerly there being no Lake at all, in a great Earthquake, the Earth there opened, and swallowed up many Houses, leaving this Lake which ever since hath continued. From hence to *Coban* the Ways are bad and Mountainous, yet such as through the worst of them, those Country-mules with heavy Burthens easily go through. And thus with my Pen, Reader, have I gone through most of the Bounds and Limits of *Guatemala*, which is more furnished with gallant Towns of *Indians*, than is any part of all *America*; and doubtless were the *Indians* warlike, industrious, active for War or Weapons, no Part in all *America* might be stronger in People than *Guatemala*. But they being kept under and oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and no Weapons allowed them, not so much as their natural Bows and Arrows, much less Guns, Pistols, Musquets, Swords, or Pikes, their Courage is gone, their Affections alienated from the *Spaniards*, and so the *Spaniards* might very well fear, that if their Country should be invaded, the Multitude of their *Indian* people, would prove to them a Multitude of Enemies, either running away to another side; or forced to help, would be to them but as the help of so many flies.

C H A P. XIX.

Shewing the Condition, Quality, Fashion, and Behaviour of the Indians of the Country of Guatemala, since the Conquest, and especially of their Feasts and yearly Solemnities.

THe Condition of the *Indians* of this Country of *Guatemala* is as sad, and as much to be pitied as of any *Indians* in *America*, for that I may say it is with them in some sort, as it was with *Israel* in *Egypt*, of whom it is said, *Exod. 1. 7. They were fruitful and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them, and therefore Pharao said unto his people, Vers. 10. Let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they joyn also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them Task-masters, to afflict them with their Burdens, and they made their lives bitter with bondage, in Mortar and in Brick, and in all manner of service in the field; and all their service wherein they made them serve was with Rigor.* Though it is true there ought not to be any comparison made betwixt the *Israelites* and the *Indians*, those being *Gods* people, these not as yet; nevertheless the Comparison may well hold in the Oppression of the one and the other, and in the Manner and Cause of the oppression, that being with Bitterness, Rigour, and hard Bondage, and lest they should multiply and increase too much. Certain it is, these *Indians* suffer great Oppression from the *Spaniards*, live in great Bitterness, are under hard Bondage, and serve with great Rigor; and all this, because they are at least a thousand of them for one *Spaniard*, they daily multiply and increase, in Children

dren and Wealth, and therefore are feared lest they should be too mighty, and either rise up of themselves, or joyn themselves to any Enemy against their Oppressors; for both which Fears and Jealousies, they are not allowed the use of any Weapons or Arms, no not their Bows and Arrows which their Ancestors formely used; so that as hereby the *Spaniards* are secured from any Hurt or Annoyance from them as an unarmed People; so may any other Nation that shall be encouraged to invade that Land, be secure also from the *Indians*, and consequently the *Spaniards* own Policy for themselves against the *Indians* may be their greatest Ruine and Destruction, being a great People and yet no People; for the Abundance of their *Indians* would be to them as no People; and they themselves (who out of their few Towns and Cites live but here and there, too thinly scattered upon so great and capacious a Land) would be but a Handful for any reasonable Army; and of that Handful very few would be found able or fitting men; and those able men would do little without the help of Guns and Ordnance; and if their own oppressed People, *Black-moors* and *Indians* (which themselves have always feared) should side against them, soon would they be swallowed up both from within and from without. And by this it may easily appear how ungrounded they are, who say, it is harder to conquer *America* now then in *Cortez* his time, for that there are now both *Spaniards* and *Indians* to fight against, and then there were none but bare and naked *Indians*. This I say is a false Ground; for then there were *Indians* trained up in Wars one against another, who knew well to use their Bows and Arrows, and Darts and other Weapons, and were desperate in their Fights and single Combats, as may appear out of the Histories of them; but now they are cowardised, oppressed, unarmed, soon frightened with the noise of a Musquet, nay with a sour and grim look of a *Spaniard*, so from them there is no Fear; neither can there be from the *Spaniards*, who from all the vast dominions, of *Guatemala* are not able to raise five thousand able fighting men, nor

to defend so many Passages as lie open in several Parts of that Country, which the wider and greater it is, might be advantageous to any Enemy, and while the *Spaniard* in one place might oppose his strength, in many other places might his Land be over-run by a forain Nation; nay by their own Slaves the *Black-moors*, who doubtless to be set at liberty would side against them in any such occasion; and lastly, the *Criolians* who also are sore oppressed by them, would rejoyce in such a day, and yield rather to live with Freedom and Liberty under a forain people, than to be longer oppressed by those of their own Blood.

The miserable Condition of the *Indians* of that Country is such, that though the Kings of *Spain* have never yielded to what some would have, that they should be Slaves, yet their lives are as full of Bitterness as is the life of a Slave. For which I have known my self some of them that have come home from toiling and moiling with *Spaniards*, after many Blows, some Wounds, and little or no Wages, who have sullenly and stubbornly lain down upon their Beds, resolving to die rather than to live any longer a Life so Slavish, and have refused to take either Meat or Drink, or any thing else comfortable and nourishing, which their Wives have offered to them, that so by pining and starving they might consume themselves. Some I have by good persuasions encouraged to Life rather than to a voluntary and wilful Death; others there have been that would not be persuaded, but in that wilful way have died. The *Spaniards* that live about that Country (especially the Farmers of the Valley of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*, and of those of the *Sacatepeques*) allege that all their Trading, and Farming, is for the good of the Common-wealth, and therefore whereas there are not *Spaniards* enough for so ample and large a Country to do all their Work, and all are not able to buy Slaves and *Black-moors*, they stand in need of the *Indians* help to serve them for their Pay and Hire; whereupon it hath been consider'd, that a Partition of *Indian* Labourers be made every

every Monday, or Sunday in the Afternoon to the *Spaniards*, according to the Farms they occupy, or according to their several Employments, calling, and trading with Mules, or any other way. So that for such and such a District there is named an Officer who is called *Juez Repartidor*, who according to a List made of every Farm, House, and Person, is to give so many *Indians* by the Week. And here is a Door open'd to the President of *Guatemala*, and to the Judges to provide well for their menial Servants whom they commonly appoint for this Office, which is thus performed by them. They name the Town and Place of their meeting upon Sunday or Monday, to which themselves and the *Spaniards* of that District resort. The *Indians* of the several Towns are to have in a readiness so many Labourers as the Court of *Guatemala* hath appointed to be weekly taken out of such a Town, who are conducted by an *Indian* Officer to the Town of general meeting; and when they come with their Tools, their Spades, Shovels, Bills, or Axes, with their provision of Victuals for a Week (which are commonly some dry Cakes of Maiz, puddings of Frixoles, or *French* beans, and a little Chile or biting long Pepper, or a bit of Cold meat for the first day or two) and with Beds on their backs (which is only a coarse woollen Mantle to wrap about them when they lie on the bare ground) then are they shut up in the Town-house, some with Blows, some with Spurnings, some with Boxes on the ear, if presently they go not in. Now all being gathered together, and the house filled with them, the *Juez Repartidor* or Officer, calls by the order of the List such and such a *Spaniard*, and also calls out of the house so many *Indians* as by the Court are commanded to be given him (some are allowed three, some four, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty, according to their Employments) and delivereth to the *Spaniard* his *Indians*, and so to all the rest, till they be all served, who when they receive their *Indians*, take from them a Tool, or their Mantles, to secure them that they run not away, and for every
Indian

Indian delivered unto them, they give unto the *Juez Repartidor* or Officer half a Rial, which is three pence an *Indian* for his Fees, which amounts yearly to him to a great deal of Mony; for some Officers make a partition or distribution of four hundred, some of two hundred, some of three hundred *Indians* every week, and carries home with him so many half hundred Rials for one, or half a days work. If Complaint be made by any *Spaniard* that such and such an *Indian* ran away from him, and served him not the Week past, the *Indian* must be brought, and surely tied to a post by his hands in the Market place, and there be whipt upon his bare back. But if the poor *Indian* complain that the *Spaniard* coufened and cheated him of his Shovel, Ax, Bill, Mantle or Wages, no Justice shall be executed against the cheating *Spaniard*, neither shall the *Indian* be righted, though it is true the Order runs equally in favour of both *Indian* and *Spaniard*. Thus are the poor *Indians* sold for three pence a piece for a whole weeks Slavery, not permitted to go home at nights to their wives, though their Work lie not above a mile from the Town where they live; nay some are carried ten or twelve miles from their home, who must not return til *Saturday* night late, and must that week do whatever their Master pleased to command them. The Wages appointed them will scarce find them Meat and Drink, for they are not allowed a Rial a day, which is but sixpence, and with that they are to find themselves, but for six days work and diet they are to have five Rials, which is half a Crown. This same Order is observed in the City of *Guatemala*, and Towns of *Spaniards*, where to every Family that wants the Service of an *Indian* or *Indians*, though it be but to fetch Water and Wood on their backs, or to go of errands, is allowed the like Service from the neerest *Indian* Towns. It would grieve a Christians heart to see how by some cruel *Spaniards* in that Weeks service those poor wretches are wrong'd and abused; some visiting their Wives at home, whilst their poor Husbands are digging and delving; others whipping them for their slow

slow working others wounding them with their Swords, or breaking their heads for some reasonable and well grounded Answer in their own behalf, others stealing from them their tools, others cheating them of half, others of all their wages, alledging that their service cost them half a Rial, and yet their Work not well performed. I knew some who made a common practice of this, when their Wheat was sown, and they had little to do for the *Indians*; yet they would have home as many as were due to their Farm, and on *Monday* and *Tuesday* would make them cut and bring them on their backs as much Wood as they needed all that Week, and then on *Wednesday* at noon (knowing the great Desire of the *Indians* to go home to their Wives, for which they would give any thing) would say to them, What will you give me now, if I let you go home to do your own Work? whereto the *Indians* would joyfully reply and answer, some that they would give a Rial, others two Rials, which they would take, and send them home, and so would have much Work done, Wood to serve their house a week, and Money as much as would buy them meat, and Cacao for Chocolate two weeks together; and thus from the poor *Indians* do those unconscionable *Spaniards* practise a cheap and lasie way of living. Others will sell them away for that week to a Neighbour that hath present need of Work, Demanding Rials a piece for every *Indian*, which he that buyes them, will be sure to defray out of their wages. So likewise are they in Slavish Bondage and Readiness for all Passengers and Travellers, who in any Town may demand to the next Town as many *Indians* to go with his Mules, or to carry on their backs a heavy Burthen as he shall need, who at the Journeys end will pick some quarrel with them, and so send them back with Blows and Stripes without any Pay at all. A Petaca, or leathern Trunk, and Chest of above a hundred weight, they will make those Wretches to carry on their backs a whole day, nay some two or three days together, which they do by tying the Chest on each side with Ropes, having a broad Leather in
the

the middle, which they cross over the forepart of their Head, or their Forehead, hanging thus the Weight on their heads and brows, which at their journeys end hath made the Blood stick in the foreheads of some, galling and pulling off the skin, and marking them in the fore-top of their heads, who as the are called *Tamemez*, so are easily known in a Town by their Baldness, that Leather girt having worn off all their hair. With these hard usages, yet do those poor people make shift to live amongst the *Spaniards*, but so that with anguish of heart they are still crying out to God for Justice, and for Liberty; whose only comfort is in their Priests and Fryers, who many times quiet them when they would rise up in mutiny, and for their own ends often prevail over them with fair and cunning persuasions, to bear and suffer for Gods sake, and for the good of the Common-wealth that hard Task and Service which is laid on them. And tho in all Seasons, wet and dry, cold and hot, and all Ways plain and mountainous, green and dirty, dusty and stony, they must perform this hard Service to their commanding Masters, their Apparel and Cloathing is but such as may cover the Nakedness of their Body, nay in some it is such torn Rags as will not cover half their Nakedness. Their ordinary Cloathing is a pair of linnen or woollen Drawers, broad and open at the knees, without Shooes, (tho in their journeys some put on leathern Sandals to keep the Soles of their Feet) or stockins, without any Doublet, a short coarse Shirt, which reaches a little below their Waste, and serves more for a Doublet than for a shirt, and for a Cloak a woollen or linen Mantle, (call'd *Aiate*) tied with a knot over one shoulder, hanging down on the other side almost to the ground, with a twelve penny or two shilling Hat, which after one good shower of Rain like Paper falls about their necks and eyes; their Bed they carry sometimes about them, which is that woollen Mantle wherewith they wrap themselves about at night, taking off their Shirt and Drawers, which they lay under their head for a pillow; some carry with them a short

short, slight, and light Mat to lie on, but those that carry it not with them, if they cannot borrow one of a neighbour, lie as willingly in their mantle on the bare ground, as a Gentleman in *England* on a soft down-bed, and thus they soundly sleep, and loudly snort after a days Work, or after a days Journey with a hundred weight upon their backs. Those that are of the better sort, and richer, and who are not employed as *Tamemez* to carry Burthens, or as Labourers to work for *Spaniards*, but keep at home following their own Farms, or following their own Mules about the Country, or following their Trades and callings in their Shops, or governing their Towns, as *Alcaldes*, or *Alguaziles*, Officers of Justice, may go a little better apparell'd, but after the same manner. For some have their Drawers with a Lace at the bottom, or wrought with some coloured Silk or Crewel; so likewise the Mantle about them, shall have either a Lace or some work of Birds on it, some will wear a cut linen Doublet, others Shooes, but very few Stockins or Bands about their necks; and for their Beds, the best *Indian* Governour, or the richest, who may be worth four or five thousand Ducats, will have little more than the poor *Tamemez*; for they lie on Boards, or Canes bound together, and raised from the ground, whereon they lay a broad and handsom Mat, and at their heads for Man and Wife two little stumps of wood for Bolsters, whereon they lay their shirts and Mantles, and other cloaths for Pillows, covering themselves with a broader Blanket than is their Mantle, and thus hardly would *Don Bernabe de Guzman* the Governour of *Petapa* lie, and so do all the best of them. The Womens Attire is cheap and soon put on, for most of them also go barefoot, the richer and better sort wear Shooes, with broad Ribbons for Shoo-strings, and for a Peticoat, they tie about their Waste a woollen Mantle, which in the better sort is wrought with divers Colours, but not sow'd at all, pleated or gather'd in, but as they tie it with a Liff about them; they wear no shirt next their body; but cover their Nakedness with a kind of surplice

Surplice (which they call *Guaipil*) which hangs loose from their shoulders down a little below their Waste, with open short sleeves, which cover half their Arms; this *Guaipil* is curiously wrought, especially in the Bosom, with Cotton, or Feathers. The richer sort wear Bracelets and Bobs about their Wrists and Necks; their Hair is Gathered up with Fillets, without any Quoif or Covering except it be the better sort. When they go to Church or abroad, they put upon their heads a Vail of Linen, which hangs almost to the ground, and this is that which costs them most of all their attire, for that commonly is of *Holland* or some good Linen brought from *Spain*, or fine Linen brought from *China*, which the better sort wear with a Lace about; when they are at home at work they commonly take off their *Guaipil* or Surplice, discovering the nakedness of their Breasts and Body. They lie also in their beds as do their Husbands, wrapt up only with a Mantle, or with a Blanket. Their Houses are but poor thatch'd Cottages, without any upper Rooms, but commonly one or two only Rooms below, in one they dress their Meat in the middle of it, making a compass for Fire, with two or three Stones, without any other Chimney to convey the smoak away, which spreading it self about the Room fills the Thatch and Rafters so with Soot, that all the Room seems to be a Chimney. The next to it, is not free from Smoak and Blackness, where sometimes are four or five Beds according to the Family. The poorer sort have but one Room, where they eat, dress their meat and sleep. Few there are that set any Locks upon their Doors, for they fear no robbing, neither have they in their houses much to lose, Earthen Pots, and Pans, and Dishes, and Cups to drink their Chocolate, being the chief Commodities in their House. There is scarce any House which hath not also in the Yard a Stew, wherein they bath themselves with hot Water, which is their chief Physick when they feel themselves distempered. Among themselves they are in every Town divided into Tribes, which have one chief Head.

Head, to whom all that belong to that Tribe, resort in any difficult matters, who is bound to aid, protect, defend, counsel and appear for the rest of his Tribe before the Officers of justice in any Wrong that is like to be done to them. When any is to be married, the Father of the Son that is to take a Wife out of another Tribe, goes to the Head of this Tribe to give him Warning of his Sons marriage with such a Maid. Then that Head meets with the Head of the Maids Tribe, and they confer about it. The Business commonly is in debate a quarter of a year; all which time the Parents of the Youth or Man are with gifts to buy the Maid; they are to bear the charge of all that is spent in eating and drinking, when the Heads of the two Tribes meet with the rest of the Kindred of each side, who sometimes sit in conference a whole Day, or most part of a night. After many Days and Nights thus spent, and a full Trial made of the one and other sides affection, if they chance disagree about the Marriage, then is the Tribe and Parents of the Maid to restore all that the other side hath spent and given. They give no Portions with their Daughters, but when they die, their goods and Land are equally divided among their Sons. If any one want a House to live in, or will repair and thatch his House anew, notice is given to the Heads of the Tribes, who warn all the Town to come to help in the work, and every one is to bring a bundle of Straw, and other Materials, so that in one day with the help of many they finish a House, without any Charge more than of Chocolate, which they serve in great Cups as big as will hold above a pint, not putting in any costly materials, as do the *Spaniards*, but only a little Anniseed, and *Chile*, or *Indian Pepper*, or else they half fill the Cup with *Atole*, and pour upon it as much Chocolate as will fill the Cup and colour it. In their Diet the poorer sort are limited many times to a Dish of Frixoles, or Turkey beans, black or white (which are there in very great abundance, and are kept dry all the year) boiled with *Chile*; and if they can have this, they hold themselves

selves well satisfied ; with these Beans, they make also Dumplings, first boiling the Bean a little, and then mingling it with a mass of Maiz, as we mingle Currans in our Cakes, and so boil again the Frixoles, with the Dumplin of Maiz-mass, and so eat it hot, or keep it cold ; but this and all whatever else they eat, they either eat with green biting Chile, or else they dip it in Water and Salt, wherein is bruised some of that Chile. But if their means will not reach to Frixoles, their ordinary Fare and Dyet is their *Tortilla's* (so they call thin round Cakes made of the dough and mass of Maiz) which they eat hot from an earthen Pan, whereon they are soon bak'd with one turning over the fire ; and these they eat alone either with Chile and Salt, and dipping them in Water and Salt with a little bruised Chile. When their Maiz is green and tender, they boil some of those whole Stalks or Clusters, whereon the Maiz grows with the Leaf about, and so casting a little Salt about it, they eat it. I have often eat of this, and found it as dainty as our young green Pease, and very nourishing, but it much increases the Blood. Also of this green and tender Maiz they make a Furmity, boiling the Maiz in some of the Milk which they have first taken out of it by bruising it. The poorest *Indian* never wants this diet, and is well satisfied, as long as his Belly is thorowly filled. But the poorest that live in such Towns where Flesh-meat is sold, will make a hard shift, but that when they come from work on Saturday night, they will buy one half Rial, or a Rial worth of fresh Meat to eat on the Lords day. Some will buy a good deal at once, and keep it long by dressing it into *Tassajo's*, which are bundles of Flesh, rowled up and tied fast ; which they do, when for Examples sake they have from a leg of Beef slic'd off from the Bone all the Flesh with the knife, in the length, form, and thinness of a Line, or rope. Then they take the Flesh and salt it, (which being slic'd thin soon takes Salt) and hang it up in their Yards like a line from Post to Post or from Tree to Tree, to the Wind for a Week, then they hang it in the smoak another Week and
after

after rowl it up in small Bundles, which become as hard as a Stone, and so as they need it, they wash it, boil it and eat it. This is *America's* powdered Beef, which they call *Tassajo*, whereof I have often eaten, and the *Spaniards* eat much of it, especially those that trade about the Country with Mules; nay this *Tassajo* is a great commodity, and hath made many a *Spaniard* rich, who carry a Mule or two loaden with these *Tassajo's* in small Parcels and Bundles, to those Towns where is no Flesh at all sold, and there they exchange them for other Commodities among the *Indians*, receiving peradventure for one *Tassajo* or Bundle, (which cost them but half a Farthing) as much *Cacao*, as in other places they sell for a Rial or Sixpence. The richer sort of people fare better, for if there be Fish or Flesh to be had, they will have it, and eat most greedily of it, and will not spare their Fowls and Turkeys from their own Bellies. These also now and then get a wild Deer, shooting it with their Bows and Arrows. And when they have kill'd it, they let it lie in the Wood in some Hole or Bottom cover'd with Leaves for about a Week, till it stink and begin to be full of Worms; then they bring it home, cut it out into Joints, and parboil it with a herb which groweth there somewhat like unto our Tanzy, which they say sweetens it again, and makes the Flesh eat tender, and as white as a piece of Turkey. Thus parboil'd, they hang up the Joints in the Smoak for a while, and then boil it again, when they eat it, which is commonly dressed with red *Indian* Pepper, and this is the Venison of *America*, whereof I have sometimes eaten, and found it white and short, but never durst be too bold with it, not that I found any evil Taste in it, but that the apprehension of the Worms and Maggots which formerly had been in it, troubled much my stomach. These *Indians* that have little to do at home, and are not employed in the weekly Service under the *Spaniards*, in their hunting will look seriously for Hedge-hogs, which are just like unto ours, though certainly ours are

not Meat for any Christian. They are full of Pricks and Bristles like ours, and are found in Woods and Fields, living in holes, and as they say feed upon nothing but Amits and their eggs, and upon dry rotten Sticks, Herbs, and Roots; of these they eat much, the Flesh being as white and sweet as a Rabbit, and as fat as a *January* Hen, kept up and fatted in a Coop. Of this meat I have also eaten, and confess it is a dainty Dish there, though I will not say the same of a Hedge-hog here; for what here may be poyson, there may be good and lawful Meat, by some accidental difference in the Creature itself, and in that which it feeds upon, or in the temper of the Air and Climate. This meat not only the *Indians* but the best of the *Spaniards* feed on; and it is so much esteemed of, that because in Lent they are commonly found, the *Spaniards* will nor be deprived of it; but eat it also then, alledging that it is no Flesh (though in eating it be in fatness, and in taste, and in all like Flesh) for that it feeds not upon any thing that is very nourishing, but chiefly upon Amits eggs, and dry sticks. It is a great point of controverſie amongst their Divines, some hold it lawful, others unlawful for that time; it seems the pricks and bristles of the *Indian* Hedge-hog prick their Consciences with a foolish scruple. Another kind of Meat they feed much on, which is called *Iguana*; of these some are found in the Waters, others on the Land. They are longer than a Rabbit, and like a Scorpion, with some green, some black Scales on their backs. Those on the Land will run very fast like Lizards, and will climb Trees like Squirrels, and breed in Roots of trees or in Stone-Walls. The sight of them is enough to fright one; and yet when they are dress'd and stew'd in Broth with a little spice, they make a dainty Broth, and eat also as white as a Rabbit, nay the middle Bone is made just like the Backbone of a Rabbit. They are dangerous meat, if not thoroughly boiled, and they had almost cost me my Life for eating too much of them, not being stew'd enough. There are many Water and Land-Tortoises, which the *Indians* find out

out for themselves, and also relish exceeding well to the *Spaniards* Palate. As for drinking, the *Indians* generally are much given to it; and drink, if they have nothing else, of their poor and simple Chocolate, without Sugar or many compounds, or of Atolle, till their Bellies be ready to burst. But if they can get any Drink that will make them mad-drunk, they will not give it over as long as a drop is left, or a peny remains in their purse to purchase it. Amongst themselves they use to make such Drinks as are in operation far stronger than Wine; and these they confection in such great Jars as come from *Spain*; wherein they put some little quantity of Water, and fill up the Jar with some Melasso's, or Juice of the Sugar-Cane, or some Hony to sweeten it; then for the strenghtning of it, they put roots and leaves of Tobacco, with other kind of Roots which grow there, and they know to be strong in operation, nay in some places I have known where they have put in a live Toad, and so closed up the Jar for a fortnight, or a months space, till all that they have put in him, be thoroughly steep'd and the Toad consum'd, and the Drink well strenghtn'd, then they open it, and call their Friends to the drinking of it, (which commonly they do in the Night-time, lest their Priest in the Town should have notice of them in the Day) which they never leave off, till they be mad and raging drunk. This Drink they call *Chicha*, which stinks most filthily, and certainly is the cause of many *Indians* Death, specially where they use the Toads poyson with it. Once I was informed living in *Mixco*, of a great meeting appointed in an *Indians* house: and I took with me the Officers of Justice of the Town, to search that *Indians* house, where I found four Jars of *Chicha* not yet open'd, I caused them to be taken out, and broken in the street before his door, and the filthy *Chicha* to be poured out, which left such a stinking Scent in my nostrils, that with the smell of it, or apprehension of its Loathsomeness, I fell to Vomiting, and continued sick almost a whole Week after,

Now the *Spaniards* knowing this Inclination of the *Indians* to Drunkenness, do herein much abuse and wrong them; though true it is there is a strict Order, even to the forfeiting of the Wine of any one who shall presume to sell Wine in a Town of *Indians*, with a Mony-Mulct besides. Yet for all this the baser and poorer sort of *Spaniards* for their Lucre and gain contemning Authority, will go from *Guatemala*, to the Towns of *Indians* about, and carry such Wine to sell and inebriate the Natives as may be very advantageous to themselves; for one Jar of Wine, they will make two at least, confecting it with Honey and Water, and other strong Drugs which are cheap, and strongly operative on the poor and weak *Indians* heads, and this they will sell for currant *Spanish* wine, with such Pint and Quart-measures, as never were allow'd by Justice-Order, but by themselves invented. With such Wine they soon intoxicate the poor *Indians*; and when they have made them drunk, then they will cheat them more, making them pay double for their Quart measure; and when they see they can drink no more, then they will cause them to lie down and sleep, and in the mean while pick their Pockets. This is a common Sin among those *Spaniards* of *Guatemala*, and much practis'd in the City on the *Indians*, when they come thither to buy or sell. Those that keep the *Bodegones* (so are call'd the houses that sell Wine, which are no better than a Chandlers shop, for besides Wine they sell Candles, Fish, Salt, Cheese and Bacon) will commonly intice the *Indians*, and make them drunk, and then pick their Pockets, and turn them out of doors with Blows and Stripes, if they will not fairly depart. There was in *Guatemala* in my time one of these *Bodegoners*, or shopkeepers of Wine and small Ware, nam'd *Juan Ramos*, who by thus cheating and tipling poor *Indians* (as it was generally reported) was worth 20000 duckats, and in my time gave with a Daughter that was married, 8000 Duckats. No *Indian* should pass by his door, but he would call him in, and play upon him as
afore said

aforesaid. In my time a *Spanish* Farmer, a Neighbour of mine in the Valley of *Mixco*, chanced to send to *Guatemala* his *Indian* servants with half a dozen mules laden with Wheat to a Merchant, with whom he had agreed before for the price, and ordered the Money to be sent to him by his Servant (whom he had kept six years, and ever found him trusty) the Wheat being deliver'd and the money receiv'd (which mounted to ten pound sixteen shillings, every Mule carrying six Bushels, at twelve Rials a Bushel, as was then the price) the *Indian* with another Mate of his walking along the streets to buy some small Commodities, passed by *John Ramos* his shop, or *Bodegon*, who enticing him and his mate in, soon tript up their heels with a little confection'd Wine for that purpose, and took away all his money from the intrusted *Indian*, and beat them out of his house; who thus drunk being forc'd to ride home, the *Indian* that had receiv'd the money, fell from his Mule, and broke his neck; the other got home without his Mate or Money. The Farmer prosecuted *John Ramos* in the Court for his money, but *Ramos* being rich and abler to bribe, than the Farmer, got off very well, and so had done formerly in almost the like cases. These are but Peccadillo's among those *Spaniards*, to make drunk, rob, and occasion the poor *Indians* Death; whose Death with them is no more regarded nor vindicated, than the death of a Sheep or Bullock, that falls into a pit. And thus having spoken of Apparel, Houses, Eating and Drinking, it remains that I say somewhat of their Civility, and Religion of those who liv'd under the Government of the *Spaniards*. From the *Spaniards* they have borrow'd their Civil Government, and in all Towns they have one or two *Alcaldes*, with more or less *Regidores*, (who are as our Aldermen or Jurates) and some *Alguaziles*, more or less, who are as Constables, to execute the orders of the *Alcalde* (who is a Mayor) with his Brethren. In Towns of 300 or 400 Families, or upwards, there are commonly two *Alcaldes*, six *Regidores*, two *Alguaziles* Mayors, and six under or petty *Alguaziles*. And some Towns are pri-

vileged with an *Indian* Governour, who is above the *Alcaldes*, and all the rest of the Officers. These are changed every year by new Election, and are chosen by the *Indians* themselves, who take their turns by the Tribes or Kindreds, whereby they are divided. Their Offices begin on New years day, and after that their Election is carryed to the City of *Guatemala* (if in that District it be) or to the heads of Justice, or *Spanish* Governours of the severall Provinces, who confirm the new Election, and take account of the last years Expences made by the other Officers, who carry with them their Town-book of Accounts; and therefore for this purpose every Town hath a Clerk or Scrivener, called *Escrivano*, who commonly continues many years in his Office, by reason of the Paucity and Unfitness of *Indian* Scriveners, who are not able to bear such a charge. This Clerk hath many Fees for his Writings and Informations, and Accounts, as have the *Spaniards*, though not so much Mony or Bribes, but a small matter according to the Poverty of the *Indians*. The Governour is also commonly continued many years, being some chief man among the *Indians*, except for his Misdemeanours he be complain'd of, or the *Indians* in general do all stomach him.

Thus they being settled in a Civil way of Government, they may execute Justice on all such *Indians* of their Town as do notoriously and scandalously offend. They may imprison, fine, whip, and banish, but hang and quarter they may not, but must remit such Cases to the *Spanish* Governour. So likewise if a *Spaniard* passing by the Town, or living in it, do trouble the Peace, and misde-mean himself, they may lay hold on him, and send him to the next *Spanish* Justice, with a full Information of his offence, but fine him or keep him above one night in prison they may not. This Order they have against *Spaniards*, but they dare not execute it, for a whole Town stands in awe of one *Spaniard*, and though he never so hainously offend, and be unruly, with Oaths, Threatnings, and drawing his Sword, he makes them quake and tremble

tremble, and not presume to touch him; for they know if they do, they shall have the worst, either by Blows, or by some Mis-information, he will give against them. And this hath been very often tried, for where *Indians* have by virtue of their Order endeavour'd to curb an unruly *Spaniard* in their Town, some of them have been wounded, others beaten, and when they have carried the *Spaniard* before a *Spanish* Justice and Governour, he hath pleaded for what he hath done, saying it was in his own Defence, or for his King and Sovereign, and that the *Indians* would have kill'd him, and began to mutiny against the *Spanish* Authority and Government, denying to serve him with what he needed for his Way and Journey; that they would not be Slaves to give him or any *Spaniard* any Attendance; and that they would make an end of him, and of all the *Spaniards*. With these and such like false and lying Mis-informations, the unruly *Spaniards* have often been believ'd, and too much upheld in their rude and uncivil misdemeanours, and the *Indians* bitterly curb'd and punish'd, and answer made them in such cases, that if they had been Kill'd for their Mutiny and Rebellion against the King, and his best Subjects, they had been serv'd well enough; and that if they gave not Attendance to the *Spaniards* that pass'd by their Town, their Houses should be fir'd, and they and their Children utterly consum'd. With such like Answers from the Justices and credency to what any base *Spaniard* shall inform against them, the poor *Indians* are fain to put up all wrongs, not daring to meddle with any *Spaniard*, be he never so unruly; by virtue of that Order which they have against them. Among themselves, if any Complaint be made against any *Indian*, they dare not meddle with him till they call all his Kindred, and especially the Head of that Tribe to which he belongs; who if he and the rest together, find him to deserve Imprisonment, or Whipping, or any other Punishment, then the Officers of Justice, the Alcaldes or Maiors, and their Brethern the Jurates inflict upon him that Punishment which all shall

agree upon. But yet after Judgment and Sentence give n they have another which is their last Appeal, if they please, and that is to their Priest and Fryer, who lives in their Town, by whom they will sometimes be judg'd, and undergo what Punishment he shall think fittest. To the Church therefore they often resort in points of Justice, thinking the Priest knows more of Law and Equity, than themselves: who sometimes reverses what Judgment hath been given in the Town-house, blaming the Officers for their Partiality and Passion against their poor Brother, and setting free the Party judg'd by them; which the Priest does oftentimes, if such an *Indian* do belong to the Church, or to the Service of their House, or have any other Relation to them, peradventure for their Wives sake, whom either they affect or imploy in washing, or making their Chocolate. Such, and their Husbands may live lawless as long as the Priest is in Town. And if when the Priest is absent, they call them to Trial for any Misdemeanor, and whip, fine, or imprison, (which occasion they will sometimes pick out on purpose) when the Priest returns, they shall be sure to hear of it, and smart for it, yea, and the Officers themselves peradventure be whipt in the Church, by the Priests order and appointment; against whom they dare not speak, but willingly accept what Stripes and Punishment he lays on them, judging his Wisdom, Sentence, and punishing Hand, the Willdom, Sentence and Hand of God; whom as they have been taught to be over all Princes, Judges, worldly Officers so likewise they believe, (and have been so taught) that his Priests and Ministers are above theirs, and all worldly Power and Authority. It hapned to me living in the Town of *Mixco*, that an *Indian* being judg'd to be whipt for some Disorders, which he committed, would not yield to the Sentence, but appeal'd to me, saying he would have his stripes in the Church, and by my order, for so he said his whipping would do him good, as coming from the hand of God. When he was brought to me, I could not reverse the *Indians* Judgment, for
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it was just, and so caus'd him to be whipt, which he took very patiently and merrily, and after kiss'd my hands and gave me an Offering of mony for the good he said I had done his Soul. Besides this Civility of Justice amongst them, they live as in other Civil and Politick and well-governed Common-wealths; for in most of their Towns, there are some that profess such Trades as are practised among *Spaniards*. There are among them Smiths, Taylors, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, and the like. It was my fortune to set upon a hard and difficult building in a Church of *Mixco*, where I desir'd to make a very broad and capacious Vault over the Chappel, which was the harder to be finish'd in a round Circumference, because it depended on a Triangle; yet for this work I fought none but *Indians*, some of the Town, some from other places, who made it so compleat, that the best and skilfullest workmen among the *Spaniards* had enough to wonder at. So are most of their Churches vaulted on the top, and all by *Indians*; they only in my time built a new Cloister in the Town of *Amatitlan*, which they finish'd with many Arches of Stone both in the lower Walks and in the upper Galleries, with as much Perfection as the best Cloister of *Guatemala*, had before been built by the *Spaniard*. Were they more encouraged by the *Spaniards*, and taught better Principles both for Soul and Body, they would among themselves make a very good Common-wealth. For painting they are much inclin'd to it, and most Pictures, and Altars of the Country Towns are their Workmanship. In most of their Towns they have a School, where they are taught to read, to sing, and some to Write. To the Church there belong according as the Town is in bigness, so many Singers, and Trumpeters, and Waits, over whom the Priest has one Officer, who is called *Fiscal*; he goes with a white Staff with a little Silver Cross on the top to represent the Church, and shew that he is the Priests Clerk and Officer. When any Case is brought to be examin'd by the Priest, this Fiscal or Clerk executes Justice by the Priests order. He must be
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one that can read and write, and is commonly the Master of Musick. He is bound on the Lords day and Saints days, to gather to the Church before and after Service all the Youths and Maids, and to teach them the Prayers, Sacraments, Commandments, and other points of Catechism, allow'd by the Church of Rome. In the morning he and other Musicians at the sound of the Bell are to come to the Church to sing and officiate at Mass, which in many Towns they perform with Organs and other Musical instruments, (as has been observ'd before) as well as *Spaniards*. So likewise at evening at five a clock they are again to resort to Church, when the Bell calls to prayers, which they call Completa's, or Comptory, with *Salve Regina*, a Prayer to the Virgin Mary. This Fiscal is a great man in the Town, and bears more sway than the Maiors, Jurates, and other Officers of Justice, and when the Priest is pleased, gives attendance to him, goes about his errants, appoints such as are to wait on him when he rides out of Town. Both he and all that belong to the Church, are exempt from the common weekly Service of the *Spaniards*, and from giving attendance to Travellers, and from other Officers of Justice. But they are to attend with their Waits, Trumpets and Musick, on any great man or Priest that comes to their Town, and to make Arches with Boughs and Flowers in the Streets for their Entertainment. Besides these, those also that belong to the Service of the Priests house, are privileged from the *Spaniards* Service. Now the Priest has Change of Servants by the Week, who take their turns so, that they may have a Week or two to do their own Work. If it be a great Town, he has three Cooks allow'd him, (if a small Town, but two) men Cooks who change their turns, except he have any occasion of Feasting, then they all come. So likewise he has two or three more (whom they call *Chahal*) as Butlers, who keep whatsoever Provision is in the house under Lock and key ; and give the Cook what the Priest appoints to be dress'd for his dinner or supper ; these keep

keep the Table-Cloths, Napkins, Dishes, and Trenchers, and lay the Cloth, and take away, and wait at Table; he has besides three or four, and in great Towns half a dozen Boys to do his errands, wait at Table, and sleep in the house all the Week by turns, who with the Cooks and Butlers dine and sup constantly in the Priests house, and at his charge. He hath also at Dinner and Supper-times the attendance of some old Women (who also take their turns) to oversee half a dozen young Maids, who next the Priest's house meet to make him and his family *Tortilla's* or Cakes of Maiz, which the Boys bring hot to the Table by half a dozen at a time. Besides these Servants, if he have a Garden, he is allowed two or three Gardners; and for his Stable, at least half a dozen *Indians*, who morning and evening are to bring him *Sacate* (as they call it) or Herb and grafs for his Mules and Horses, these diet not in the house; but the groom of the Stable, who comes at Morning, Noon and Evening, (and therefore are three or four to change) or at any time that the Priest will ride out; these I say and the Gardners (when they work) dine and sup at the Priests charges, who sometimes in great Towns has above a dozen to feed and provide for. There are besides belonging to the Church privileg'd from the weekly attendance on the *Spaniards*, two or three *Indians*, called Sacristains, who have care of the Vestry and Copes, and Altar-Cloths, and every day make ready the Altar or Altars for Mass; also to every Company or Sodality of the Saints, or Virgin, there are two or three, whom they call Major-domo's, who gather about the Town, Alms for maintaining of the Sodality; these also gather Eggs about the Town for the Priest every week, and give him an account of their gatherings, and allow him every month, or fortnight, two Crowns for a Mass to be sung to the Saint.

If there be any Fishing-Place near the Town, then the Priest also is allow'd for to seek him Fish three or four, and in some places half a dozen *Indians*, beside the Offerings
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in the Church, and many other Offerings which they bring whensoever they come to speak to the Priest, or confess with him, or for a Saints Feast to be celebrated, and beside their Tithes of every thing, there is a monthly Maintenance in mony allow'd to the Priest, and brought to him by the Alcaldes, or Mayors, and Jurates, which he sets his hand to in a book of the Towns Expences. This Maintenance (though it be allow'd by the *Spanish* Magistrate, and paid in the Kings Name for the preaching of the Gospel) yet it comes out of the poor *Indians* Purfes and Labour, and is either gather'd about the Town, or taken out of the tribute paid to the King, or from a common Plat of Ground which with the help of all is sow'd and gather'd in, and sold for that purpose. All the Towns in *America*, which are civiliz'd and under the *Spanish* Government, belong either to the Crown, or to some Lords, whom they call *Encomendero's*, and pay a yearly Tribute to them. Those that are tenants to their Lords or *Encomendero's* (who commonly are such as descend from the first conquerers) pay yet to the King some small Tribute in Mony, beside what they pay in other kind of commodities unto their own *Encomendero*, and in mony also. There is no Town so poor, where every married *Indian* doth not pay at least four Rials a year, for Tribute to the King, beside other four Rials to his Lord or *Encomendero*. And if the Town pay only to the King, they pay at least six, and in some places eight Rials by Statute, beside what other commodities are common to the Town or Country where they live, as Maiz, (that is paid in all Towns) Hony, Turkeys, Fowls, Salt, Cacao, Mantles of Cotton-wool; and the like commodities they pay who are subject to an *Encomendero*. But such pay only Mony, not Commodities to the King. The Mantles of Tribute are much esteemed of, for they are choise ones, and of a bigger size than others, so likewise is the Tribute Cacao, *Achiotte*, and *Cochinil*; for the best is set apart for the Tribute; and if the *Indians* bring what is not prime good

good, they shall surely be lash'd and sent back for better. The Heads of the several Tribes have care to gather it, and to deliver it to the Alcaldes and Regidores, Mayors and Jurates, who carry it either to the Kings Exchequer in the City, or to the nearest *Spanish* Justice (if it belong to the King) or to the Lord, or *Eneomendero* of the Town. In nothing I ever perceived the *Spaniards* merciful and indulgent to the *Indians*, but in this, that if an *Indian* be very weak, poor, and sickly, and not able to work, or 70 years of age, he is freed from paying any Tribute. There be also some Towns privileg'd from this Tribute; which are those which can prove themselves to have descended from *Tlascallan*, or from certain Tribes or Families of or about *Mexico*, who help'd the first *Spaniards* in the conquest of that Country. As for their Carriage and Behaviour, the *Indians* are very courteous and loving, of a timorous nature, and willing to serve and to obey, and to do good, if they be drawn by Love; but where they are too much tyranniz'd over, they are dogged, unwilling to please, or to work; and will choose rather Strangling and Death than Life. They are very trusty, and never were known to commit any Robbery of importance; so that the *Spaniards* dare trust to abide with them in a Wilderness all night, though they have Bags of gold about them. So for Secrecy they are very close; and will not reveal any thing against their own Natives, or a *Spaniards* Credit and Reputation, if they be any way affected to him. But above all to their Priest they are very respectful; and when they come to speak to him, put on their best clothes, study their Complements and Words to please him. They are very abundant in their Expressions, and full of Circumlocutions adorn'd with Parables and Simile's to express their Mind and Intention. I have often sat still an hour, only hearing some old women make their Speeches to me, with so many Elegancies in their Tongue (which in *English* would be Nonsense or barbarous Expressions) as would make me wonder, and learn
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by their Speeches more of their Language, than by any other Endeavour or study of mine own. And if I could reply to them in the like Phrases and Expressions (which I would often endeavour) I should be sure to win their hearts, and get any thing from them. As for their Religion, they are outwardly such as the *Spaniards*, but inwardly hard to believe what is above Sense, Nature, and the visible Sight of the Eye; and many of them to this day incline to worship Idols of Stocks and Stones, and are given to much Superstition, and to observe cross Ways, and meeting of Beasts in them, the flying of Birds, their appearing and singing near their houses at such and such times. Many are given to Witchcraft, and are deluded by the Devil to believe that their life depends on the Life of such and such a Beast (which they take to them as their familiar Spirit) and think when that beast dies they must die; when he is chased, their hearts pant, when he is faint they are faint; nay it happens that by the Devils delusion they appear in the Shape of that Beast, (which commonly by their choice is a Buck, or Doe, a Lion, or Tigre, Dog, or Eagle) and in that Shape have been shot at and wounded, as I shall shew in the Chapter following. And for this reason (as I came to understand by some of them) they yield to the Popish Religion, especially to the worshipping of Saints Images, because they look upon them as much like their Forefathers Idols; and secondly, because they see some of them painted with Beasts; as *Hierom* with a Lion, *Anthony* with an Ass, and other wild beasts, *Dominick* with a Dog, *Blas* with a Hog, *Mark* with a Bull, and *John* with an Eagle, they are more confirmed in their Delusions, and think verily those Saints were of their Opinion, and that those Beasts were their familiar Spirits in whose shape they also were transform'd when they lived, and with whom they died. All *Indians* are much affected to these Popish Saints, but especially those which are given to Witchcraft, and out of the smallness of their means they will be sure to buy some of these Saints and bring them to the Church, that there they may

may stand and be worshipt by them and others. The Churches are full of them, and they are plac'd upon Stands gilded or painted, to be carried in Procession on mens Shoulders, on their proper Day. And hence comes no little profit to the Priests; for on such Saints days, the owner of the Saint makes a great Feast in the Town, and presents the Priest sometimes two or three, sometimes four or five crowns for his Mass and Sermon, besides a Turkey and three or four Fowls, with as much Cacao as will serve to make him Chocolate for all the whole *Octave* or eight days following. So that in some Churches, where there are at least forty of these Saints Statues and Images, they bring the Priest at least forty pounds a year. The Priest therefore is very watchful over those Saints days, and sends warning before-hand to the *Indians* of the day of their Saint, that they may provide themselves for the better celebrating it both at home and in the Church. If they contribute not bountifully, then the Priest will chide, and threaten that he will not preach. Some *Indians* through Poverty have been unwilling to contribute any thing at all, or to solemnize in the Church and at his House his Saints day, but then the Priest hath threatned to cast his Saints Image out of the Church, saying that the Church ought not to be filled with such Saints as are unprofitable to Soul and Body, and that in such a Statues room one may stand, which may do more good by occasioning a solemn Celebration of one Day more in the year. So likewise if the *Indian* that own'd one of those Images die and leave Children, they are to take care of that Saint as part of their Inheritance, and to provide that his Day be kept; but if no Son or heirs be left, then the Priest calls for the Heads of the several Tribes, and for the chief Officers of Justice, and makes a Speech to them, wherein he declares that part of the Church-ground is taken up in vain by such an Image, and his Stand, without any profit either to the Priest, the Church, or the Town, no Heir or Owner being left alive to provide for that Orphan-Saint

Saint, to own it; and that in case they will not seek out who may take charge of him, and of his day, the Priest will not suffer him to stand idle in his Church, like those whom our Saviour in the Gospel rebuked, *Quid hic statis tota die otiosi?* for that they stood idle in the Market all the day (these very expressions have I heard from some Friars) and therefore that he must banish such a Saints Picture out of the Church, and must deliver him up before them into the Justices hands to be kept by them in the Town-house, till such time as he may be bought and owned, by some good Christian. The *Indians* when they hear these Expressions, begin to fear, lest some Judgment may befall their Town for suffering a Saint to be excommunicated and cast out of their Church, and therefore present the Priest some offering for his Prayers to the Saint, that he may do them no harm, and desire him to limit them a time to bring an Answer for the disposing of that Saint (thinking it will prove a Disparagement and Affront to their Town, if what once hath belong'd to the Church, be now out, and deliver'd up to the Secular Power) and that in the mean time, they will find out some good Christian, of the neereſt Friends and Kindred to him or them who first own'd the Saint, or else some Stranger, who may buy that Saint of the Priest (if he continue in the Church) or of the Secular Power (if he be cast out of the Church and deliver'd up to them, which they are unwilling to yield to, having been taught of Judgments in such case like to befall them) and may by some speedy Feast and Solemnity appease the Saints Anger towards them, for having been so slighted by the Town. Alas poor *Indians*, what will they not be brought to by those Fryers and Priests, who study nothing but their own ends, and to enrich themselves from the Church and Altar! their Policies (who are the wise and prudent Children of this World spoken of in the Gospel) can easily overtop and master the Simplicity of the poor *Indians*; who rather than they will bring an Affront upon their Town, by suffering their Saints to be cast out of
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their Church, or to be with mony redeem'd out of the Secular Powers hands, will make hast to present him an Owner of that orphan-Saint, who for him shall give the Priest only what he may be priz'd to be worth in a Painters Shop for the workmanship, Gold and Colours belonging to him; but besides shall present him what before has been observ'd, for the solemnizing of his Feast. These Feasts bring yet to the Saints more profit than hitherto has been spoken of; for the *Indians* have been taught that on such days they ought to offer somewhat to the Saints; and therefore they prepare either Mony (some a Rial, some two, some more) or else commonly about *Guatemala* white Wax-candles, and in other places Cacao, or Fruits, which they lay before the Image of the Saint, whilst Mass is celebrating. Some *Indians* bring a bundle of Candles of a dozen tied together, of Rials apiece some, of some three or four for a Rial, and will, if let alone, light them all together and burn them out, so that the Priest at the end of the Mass will find nothing but the Ends. Therefore (knowing well the ways of Policy and Covetousness) he charges the Church Officers, whom I said before were call'd *Mayordomo's*, to look to the Offerings, and not suffer the *Indians* who bring Candles, to light more than one before the Saint, and to leave the other before him unlighted (having formerly taught them, that the Saints are as well pleased with their whole Candles as with their burnt Candles) that so he may have the more to sell and make mony of. After Mass the Priest and the *Mayordomo's* take and sweep away from the Saint whatsoever they find hath been offer'd him; so that sometimes in a great Town on such a Saints day the Priest may have in mony twelve or twenty Rials, and fifty or a hundred Candles, which may be worth twenty or thirty Shillings, besides some Ends and Pieces. Most of the Fryers about *Guatemala* are with these Offerings as well stor'd with Candles, as is any Wax-chandlers shop in the City. And the same Candles which thus they receiv'd by Offerings, they

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need not care to sell away to *Spaniards*, who come about to buy them (though some will rather sell them together to such, though cheaper, that their mony may come in all at once) for the *Indians* themselves when they want again any Candles for the like Feast, or for a Christening, and for a Womans Churching (at which times they also offer Candles) will buy their own again of the Priest, who sometimes receives the same Candles and Mony for them again five or six times. And because they find the *Indians* incline much to this kind of Offerings, and that they are so profitable to them, the Fryers much press upon the *Indians* in their Preaching this Point of their Religion, and Devotion. But if you demand of these ignorant but zealous Offerers, the *Indians*, an account of any point of Faith, they give you little or none. The Mystery of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation of Christ, and our Redemption by him is too hard for them; they will only answer what they have been taught in a Catechism of Questions and Answers; but if you ask them if they believe such a point of Christianity, they will never answer affirmatively, but only thus, Perhaps it may be so. They are taught there the Doctrine of Rome, that Christs body is truly and really present in the Sacrament, and no Bread in Substance, but only the Accidents; if the wisest *Indian* be ask'd, whether he believe this, he will answer, Perhaps it may be so. Once an old Woman, who was held to be very religious, in the Town of *Mixco*, came to me about receiving the Sacrament, and whilst I was instructing her, I asked her if she believ'd that Christs Body was in the Sacrament, she answer'd, Peradventure it may be so. A little while after to try her and get her out of this strain and common answer, I askt her what and who was in the Sacrament which she receiv'd from the Priests hand at the Altar, she answer'd nothing for a while, and at last I press'd her for an affirmative Answer; and then she began to look about to the Saints in the Church, (which was dedicated to St. *Dominick*) and, as it seem'd, being troubl'd and doubtful what

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to say, at last she cast her eyes upon the high Altar; but I seeing she delay'd the time, askt her again, who was in the Sacrament? to which she reply'd, St. *Dominick*, who was the Patron of that Church and Town. At this I smiled, and would yet further try her Simplicity with a simple Question. I told her she saw St. *Dominick* was painted with a Dog by him holding a Torch in his mouth, and the Globe of the World at his feet; I askt her, whether all this were with St. *Dominick* in the Sacrament? To which she answer'd, perhaps it might be so; wherewith I began to chide and instruct her. But my Instruction, nor all the Teaching and Preaching of those *Spanish Priests* hath yet well grounded them in Principles of Faith; they are dull and heavy to believe or apprehend of God, or of Heaven, more than with Sense or reason they can conceive. Yet they go and run that way they see the *Spaniards* run, and as they are taught by their Idolatrous Priests: Who have taught them much Formality, and so they are (as our Formalists formerly in *England*) very formal, but little substantial in Religion. They have been taught that when they come to Confession, they must offer somewhat to the Priest, and that by their gifts and Alms, their Sins shall be sooner forgiven; this they do so formally observe, that whensoever they come to Confession, especially in Lent, none of them dares to come with empty hands; some bring Mony, some Hony, some Eggs, some Fowls, some fish, some Cacao, some one thing some another, so that the Priest has a plentiful harvest in Lent for his pains in hearing their Confessions. They have been taught that also when they receive the Communion, they must surely every one give at least a Rial to the Priest, (surely *England* was never taught in *America* to buy the Sacrament with a two-pence offering, and yet this Custom is too much practised and pressed upon the people) which they perform so, that I have known some poor *Indians*, who have for a Week or two forbore coming to the Communion till they could get a Rial Offering. It is to be wondred what the Priests get from those poor Wretches by Con-

cession and Communion Rials in great Towns, where they deny the Sacrament to none that will receive it, (and in some Towns I have known a thousand Communicants) and force all above twelve and thirteen years of age to come to Confession in the Lent. They are very formal also in observing *Romes* Maunday-Thursdai, and Good-Friday, and then they make their Monuments and Sepulchers, wherein they set their Sacrament, and watch it all day and night, placing before it a Crucifix on the ground, with two basins on each side to hold the single or double Rials, which every one must offer when he comes creeping on his knees, and bare-footed to kiss Christs hands, feet, and side. The Candles which for that day and night and next morning are burn'd at the Sepulchre are bought with another Contribution-Rial, which is gather'd from house to house from every *Indian* for that purpose. Their Religion is a dear and lick-penny Religion for such poor *Indians*, and yet are carried along in it formally and perceive it not. They are taught that they must remember the Souls in Purgatory, and therefore that they must cast their Alms into a Chest, which stands for that purpose in their Churches, whereof the Priest keeps the key, and opens it when he wants Mony, or when he pleases. I have often open'd some of those Chests, and have found in them many single Rials, some half Pieces of Eight, and some whole pieces of Eight. And because what is found in the high-ways, must belong to some body, if the true Owner be not known, they have been taught that such Monies or goods belong also to the Souls departed; wherefore the *Indians* (surely more for Fear or Vanities sake that they may be well thought on by the Priest) if they find any thing lost will bestow it on the Souls surer than the *Spaniards* themselves (who if they find a Purse lost will keep it,) and will bring it either to the Priest or cast it into the Chest. An *Indian* of *Mixco* had found a Patacon or Piece of Eight in a High-way, and when he came to Confession, he gave it me, telling me he durst not keep it, lest the Souls should

should appear to him, and demand it. So upon the second day of *November* which they call *All-Souls-day*, they are extraordinary foolish and superstitious in offering Monies, Fowls, Eggs and Maiz, and other Commodities for the Souls Good, but it proves for the Profit of the Priest, who after Mass wipes away to his Chamber all that which the poor gull'd and deluded *Indians* had offer'd to those souls, which needed neither Mony, Food, nor any other provision, and he fills his Purse, and pampers his Belly with it. A Fryer that liv'd in *Petapa* boasted to me once that on their *All-Souls-day*, his Offerings had been about a hundred Rials, two hundred Chickens and Fowls, half a dozen Turkeys, eight bushels of Maiz, three hundred eggs, four Sontles of Cacao (every Sontle being four hundred Grains) twenty Clusters of Plaintins, above a hundred Wax-Candles, beside some Loaves of Bread, and other Trifles of Fruits. All which summed up according to the price of things there, and with consideration of the Coin there (half a Rial, or three pence being there the least Coin) mounts to above Eight Pounds of our Mony, a fair and goodly Stipend for a Mass, brave Wages for half an hours Work; a politick ground of that Error of Purgatory, if the dead bring the living Priest such Wealth in one day only. *Christmas-day* with the rest of those holy-days is no less superstitiously observ'd by these *Indians*; for against that time they frame and set in some corner of their Church a little thatch'd House like a Stall, which they call *Bethlehem*, with a blazing Star over it, pointing to the three Sage men from the East; within this Stall they lay in a Crib, a Child made of Wood, painted and gilded (who represents Christ new born) by him stands *Mary* on one side, and *Joseph* on the other; and an Ass likewise on one side and an Ox on the other, made by hands. The three wise men of the East kneel before the Crib offering Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh, the Shepherds stand aloof offering their Country-gifts, some a Kid, some a Lamb, some Milk, some Cheese and Curds, some

Fruits, the fields are also there represented with Flocks of Sheep and Goats; the Angels they hang about the stall some with Viols, some with Lutes, some with Harps, a goodly mumming and silent Stage-play, to draw those simple Souls to look about, and to delight their Senses and Fantasies in the Church.

There is not an *Indian* that comes to see that supposed *Bethlehem*, (and there is not any in the Town but comes to see it) who brings not Mony or somewhat else for his Offering. Nay the Policy of the Priests has been such, that (to stir up the *Indians* with their Saints Example) they have taught them to bring their Saints on all the holy-days, till Twelfth-day in Procession to this *Bethlehem* to offer their Gifts, according to the number of the Saints that stand in the Church, some days there come five, some days eight, some days ten, dividing them into such order, that by Twelfth-day all may have come and offer'd, some Mony, some one thing, some another; The Owner of the Saint, comes before the Saint with his Friends and Kindred (if there be no Sodality or Company belonging to that Saint) and being well apparelled for that purpose, he bows himself and kneels to the Crib, and then rising takes from the Saint what he brings, and leaves it there, and so departs. But if there be a Sodality belonging to the Saint, then the *Mayordomo's* or chief Officers of that Company come before the Saint, and do homage, and offer as before has been said. But on twelfth-day the Alcaldes, Majors, Jurates and other Officers must offer after the Example of the Saints, and the three wise men of the East (whom the Church of *Rome* teaches to have been Kings) because they represent the Kings Power and Authority. And all these days they have about the Town and in the Church a dance of Shepherds, who at Christmas Eve at midnight begin before this *Bethlehem*, and then they must offer a Sheep among them. Others dance cloth'd like Angels and with Wings, and all to draw the people more to see Sights in the Church, than to worship God in Spirit and in Truth. Candlemas-day

is no less superstitiously observ'd; for then the Picture of *Mary* comes in Procession to the Altar, and offers up her Candles and Pigeons, or Turtle-Doves to the Priest, and all the Town must imitate her Example, and bring their Candles to be blessed and hollow'd; of four or five, or as many as they bring, one only shall be restor'd to them, because they are bless'd, all the rest are for the Priest, to whom the *Indians* resort after to buy them, and give more than ordinary, because they are hallow'd Candles. At Whitsuntide they have another Sight, and that is in the Church also, whilst a Hymn is sung of the Holy Ghost, the Priest standing before the Altar with his Face turn'd to the people, they have a device to let fall a Dove from above over his head well dress'd with Flowers, and for above half an hour, from holes made for the purpose, they drop down flowers about the Priest shewing the gifts of the Holy Ghost to him, which Example the ignorant and simple *Indians* are willing to imitate, offering also their gifts to him. Thus all the year do those Priests and Fryers delude the poor people for their ends, enriching themselves with their Gifts, placing Religion in meer Policy; and thus doth the *Indians* Religion consist more in Sights, Shews and Formalities, than in true Substance. But as sweet meat must have sour Souce; so this Sweetness and pleasing Delight of Shews in the Church hath its sour Sauce once a year (besides the sourness of poverty which follows by giving so many gifts to the Priest) for, to shew that in their Religion there is some Bitterness and Sourness, they make the *Indians* whip themselves the Week before Easter, like the *Spaniards*, which those Simples, both Men and Women, perform with such Cruelty to their own Flesh, that they butcher it, mangle and tear their Backs, till some swoond, nay some (as I have known) have died under their own whipping, and have self-murther'd themselves, which the Priests regard not, because their Death is sure to bring them at least three or four Crowns for a Mass for their Souls, and other Offerings of their Friends.

Thus in Religion they are superstitiously led on, and blinded in the Observance of what they have been taught, more for the Good and Profit of their Priests, than for any Good of their Souls, not perceiving that their Religion is a Policy to enrich their Teachers. But not only do the Fryers and Priests live by them and eat the sweat of their brows; but also all the *Spaniards*, who not only with their Work and Service (being themselves given to idleness) grow wealthy and rich; but with needless offices, and Authority are still fleecing them, and taking from them that little which they gain with much Hardness; and Severity.

The President of *Guatemala*, the Judges of that Chancery, the Governours and High Justices of other parts of the Country, that they may advance and enrich their menial Servants, make the poor *Indians* the Subject of their bounty towards such. Some have Offices to visit as often as they please their Towns, and see what every *Indian* hath sowed of Maiz, for the maintenance of his Wife and Children; Others visit what Fowls they keep for the good and store of the Country; others have order to see whether their Houses be decently kept and their Beds orderly plac'd according to their Families; others have power to call them out to repair the Highways, and others have Commission to number the Families and Inhabitants of the several Towns, to see how they increase, that their Tribute may not decrease, but still be raised. And all this those Officers never perform but so, that for their pains they must have from every *Indian* an Allowance to bear their Charges, (which indeed are none at all) for as long as they stay in the Town, they call for what Fowls and provision they please without paying for it. When they come to number the Towns, they call by List every *Indian* and cause his Children, Sons and Daughters to be brought before them, to see if they be fit to be married; and if they be of growth and Age, and be not married, the Fathers are threatned for keeping them, unmarried, and as idle live without paying
Tribute;

Tribute; and according to the number of the Sons and Daughters that are marriageable, the Fathers Tribute is rais'd and increas'd, till they provide Husbands and Wives for their Sons and Daughters, who as soon as they are married, are charg'd with Tribute; which that it may increase, they suffer none above fifteen years of age to live unmarried. Nay the set Age of Marriage appointed for the *Indians*, is fourteen years for the Man, and thirteen for the Woman, alledging that they are sooner ripe for the fruit of Wedlock, and sooner ripe in Knowledge and Malice, and Strength for Work and Service, than any other People. Nay sometimes they force them to marry who are scarce twelve or thirteen years of age, if they find them well limb'd, and strong, explicating a Point of one of *Romes* Canons, which allows fourteen and fifteen years, *nisi malitia suppleat etatem*. When I my self liv'd in *Pinola*, that Town by order of *Don Juan de Guzman*, (a great Gentleman of *Guatemala*, to whom it belong'd) was numbred, and an increase of tributary *Indians* was added to it by this means. The numbring it lasted a full Week, and in that Space was commanded to joyn in Marriage near twenty couple, which, with those that before had been married since the last numbring of it, made up to the *Encomendero* or Lord of it an increase of about fifty Families. But it was a Shame to see how young some were that at that time were forc'd to Marriage, nor could all my striving and reasoning prevail to the contrary, nor the producing of the Register to shew their Age, but that some were married between twelve and thirteen years of age, and one especially, who in the Register was found to be not fully of twelve years, whose Knowledge and Strength of body was jug'd to supply the want of Age. Thus even in the most free act of the Will, (which ought to be in marriage) are those poor *Indians* forc'd and made Slaves by the *Spaniards*, to supply with Tribute the want of their Purfes, and the meanness of their Estates. Yet under this Yoke and Burden they are cheerful, and much given

given to feasting, sporting and dancing, as they particularly shew in the chief Feasts of their Towns, kept on that Saints Day to whom their Town is dedicated. And certainly this Superstition hath continued also in *England* from the Popish times, to keep Fairs in many of our Towns upon Saints days (which is the intent of the Papists to draw in the people and Country by way of Commerce and Trading one with another, to honour, worship, and pray to that Saint to whom the Town is dedicated) or else why are our Fairs commonly kept upon *John Baptist*, *James*, *Peter*, *Matthew*, *Bartholomew*, *Holy Rood*, *Lady* days, and the like, and not as well a day or two before or a day or two after, which would be as good and fit days to buy and sell, as the other ? True it is, our Reformation allows not the worshipping of Saints, yet that solemn Meeting of people to Fairs and Mirth, and Sport on those days it hath kept and continued, that so the Saints and their Days may continue still in our remembrance. There is no Town in the *India's* great or small (though it be but of twenty Families) which is not dedicated thus to our Lady or some Saint, and the remembrance of that Saint is continu'd in the minds not only of them that live in the Town, but of all that live far and near by commercing, trading, sporting and dancing, offering to the Saint, and bowing, kneeling, and praying before him. Before this day comes, the *Indians* of the Town two or three months have their meetings at night, and prepare themselves for such dances as are commonly used among them; and in these their meetings they drink much Chocolate and Chicha. For every kind of Dance they have several Houses appointed, and Masters of that dance, who teach the rest, that they may be perfect in it against the Saints day. For the most part of these two or three months the silence of the night is unquieted, with their singing, with their hollowing, with their beating upon the shells of fishes, with their Waits, and with their Piping. And when the feast comes, then they act publickly for the

the space of eight days, what privately they had practised before. They are that day well apparelled with Silks, fine Linen, Ribbons, and Feathers, according to the Dance; which first they begin in the Church before the Saint, or in the Church-yard, and thence all the *Octave*, or eight days, they go from house to house dancing, where they have Chocholate or some heady drink or Chicha given them. All those eight days the Town is sure to be full of Drunkards; and if they be reprehended for it; they answer, that their heart doth rejoyce with their Saint in Heaven, and that they must drink to him, that he may remember them. The chief Dance used amongst them is called *Toncontin*, which had been danc'd before the King of *Spain*, in the Court of *Madrid* by *Spaniards*, who have lived in the *India's* to shew the King somewhat of the *Indians* fashions; and it was reported to have pleased the King very much. This Dance is thus perform'd. The *Indians* commonly that dance it (if it be a great Town) are thirty or forty, or fewer if it be a small Town. They are clothed in white, both their Doublets, linen Drawers, and *Aiates*, or Towels, which on the one side hang almost to the ground. Their Drawers and *Aiates* are wrought with some works of Silk, or with Birds, or border'd with some Lace. Others procure Doublets and Drawers and *Aiates* of Silk, hir'd for that purpose. On their Backs they hang long Tuffs of Feathers of all colours, which with glew are fastned into a little Frame made for the purpose, and gilded on the outside; this Frame with Ribbands they tie about their Shoulders fast that it fall not, nor slacken with the motion of their bodies. On their Heads they wear another less Tuff of Feathers either in their Hats, or in some gilded or painted Head-picce, or Helmet. In their Hands they carry a Fan of Feathers, and on their Feet most use Feathers bound together, like short Wings of Birds; some wear shoes, some not. And thus from top to toe they are almost cover'd with curious colour'd Feathers.

Their

Their Musick and Tune to this dance is only what is made with a hollow Stock of a Tree, rounded, and well pared within and without, very smooth and shining, some four times thicker than our Viols, with two or three long clefts on the upper side and some holes at the end which they call *Tepanabaz*. On this Stock (which is plac'd on a Stool or form in the middle of the *Indians*) the Master of the Dance beats with two sticks, cover'd with Wool at the ends, and a pitch Leather over the Wool that it fall not away. With this Instrument blowing on it (which sounds but dull and heavy, but somewhat loud) he gives the Dancers their several Tunes, and Changes, and Signs of the motion of their Bodies either straight or bowing, and gives them warning what and when they are to sing. Thus they Dance in Compass and Circle round about that Instrument, one following another sometimes straight, sometimes turning about, sometimes turning half way, sometimes bending their bodies and with the Feathers in their Hands almost touching the ground, and singing the Life of that their Saint, or of some other. All this Dancing is but a kind of walking round, which they will continue two or three whole hours together in one Place, and from thence go and perform the same at another House.

This *Toncantin* the chief and principal only of the Town dance, it was the old Dance which they used before they knew Christianity, except that then, instead of singing the Saints Lives, they sang the Praises of their heathen Gods. They have another Dance much used which is a kind of hunting out some wild Beast (which formerly in time of Heathenism was to be sacrificed to their Gods) to be offer'd to the Saint. This Dance hath much variety of Tunes, with a small *Tepanabaz*, and many shells of Tortoise, or instead of them with Pots covered with Leather, on which they strike as on *Tepanabaz*, and with the sound of Pipes; in this Dance they use much hollowing and noise and calling one to another, and speaking by way of Stage-play, some relating

relating one thing, some another concerning the Beast they hunt after; these Dancers are cloth'd like Beasts, with painted Skins of Lions, Tigers, Wolves, and on their Heads such Headpieces as may represent the Heads of such Beasts, and on others wear painted Heads of Eagles, or Fowls of Rapine, and in their hands they have painted Staves, Bills, Swords and Axes, wherewith they threaten to kill that Beast they hunt after. Others instead of hunting after a Beast, hunt after a Man, as Beasts in a Wilderness should hunt a Man to kill him. This Man that is thus hunted after must be very nimble and agill, as one flying for his Life, and striking here and there at the Beasts for his defence, whom at last they catch and make a Prey of. As the *Toncontin* consists most of walking and turning and leasurely bending their bodies, so this Dance doth wholly consist in Action, running in a Circle round, sometimes out of the Circle, and leaping and striking with those Tools and Instruments which they have in their hand. This is a very rude Sport and full of screeching and hideous noise, wherein I never delighted. Another *Mexican* dance they use, some cloth'd like Men, others like Women, which in Heathenish times they did use with singing Praises to their King or Emperor; but now they apply their songs to the King of Glory, or to the Sacrament, using these or commonly the like Words with very little Difference, and some variety of Praise,

Salid Mexicanas, bailad Toncontin.

Cansalus galanas en cuerpo gentil. And again,

Salid Mexicanas bailad Toncontin.

Al Rey de la gloria tenemos aqui.

Thus they go round dancing, playing in some places very well on their Guitars, repeating now and then altogether a Verse or two, and calling the *Mexican* Dames to come out to them with their gallant Mantles to sing praise to their King of Glory. Besides these they have, and use our Morris-dances, and Blackmoor dances, with *Sonajas* in their hands, which

which are a round set of small Morris-dancing bells, where-with they make variety of sounds to their nimble feet. But the Dance which doth draw to it the peoples wondering, is a Tragedy acted by way of Dance, as the death of *St. Peter*, or the Beheading of *John the Baptist*. In these Dances there is an Emperor, or a King *Herod* with their Queens cloth'd, another cloth'd with a long loose Coat who represents *St. Peter*, or *John the Baptist*, who while the rest dance, walks among them with a book in his hand, as if he were saying his prayers, all the rest of the Dancers are apparell'd like Captains and Soldiers, with Swords, Daggers or Halbards in their hands. They dance at the sound of a small Drum and Pipes, sometimes round, sometimes in length forward, and have and use many Speeches to the Emperor or King, and among themselves concerning the apprehending and executing the Saint. The King and Queen sit sometimes down to hear their pleading against the Saint, and his pleading for himself, and sometimes they dance with the rest; and the end of their Dance is to crucifie *S. Peter downwards with his head on a Cross*, or behead *John the Baptist*, having in readines a painted Head in a Dish, wich they present to the King and Queen, for joy whereof they all again dance merrily and so conclude, taking down him that acted *Peter* from the Cross. The *Indians* that dance this Dance most of them are superstitious for what they do, judging as if it were indeed really acted and performed what only is by way of Dance represented. When I lived among them, it was an ordinary thing for him who in the Dance was to act *St. Peter* or *John the Baptist*, to come first to Confession, saying they must be holy and pure like that Saint whom they represent, and must prepare themselves to die. So likewise he that acted *Herod* or *Herodias*, and some of the Soldiers that in the Dance were to speak and to accuse the Saints, would afterwards come to confess of that Sin, and desire absolution as from Blood-guiltiness.

C H A P. XX.

My Departure out of Guatemala to learn the the Poconchi Language and to live among the Indians, and of some particular Passages and Accidents whilst I lived there.

HAVING read in the University of *Guatemala* for three years space a whole course of Arts, and having begun to read part of Divinity, the more I studied and grew in knowledge, and the more I controverted by way of Arguments some Truths and points of Religion, the more I found the Spirit of Truth inlightning me, and discovering the Lies, Errors, Falsties and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. My Conscience was much perplexed and wavering, and I desirous of some good and full satisfaction: which I knew might not be had there; and that to profess and continue in any opinion contrary to the Doctrine of *Rome*, would bring me to the Inquisition, that Rack of tender Consciences, and from thence to no less then burning alive, in case I would not recant of what the true Spirit had inspir'd into me. The point of Transubstantiation, of Purgatory, of the Popes power and Authority, of the Merit of mans Works, of his Free Will to chuse all soul-saving ways, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the hallowing the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to the Lay-people, the Priests power to absolve from sin, the Worshipping of Saints though with *δουλεία*, as they call it, and not with *λαλγεία*, and the Virgin *Mary* with a higher degree of worship than that of the Saints, which they call *κατεργασμένη*, the

the strange Lies and Blasphemies which they call Miracles, recorded in the Legend and Lives of their Saints, the infallibility of the Pope and Council, in defining for Truth and point of Faith, what in it self is false and erroneous; these Points especially, with many more of *Romes* Policies, and the leud Lives of the Priests, Fryers, Nuns, and those in Authority, did much trouble and perplex my Conscience, which I knew would be better satisfied if I could return again to my own Country of *England*; where I knew many things were held contrary to the Church of *Rome*, but what particulars they were, I could not tell, not having been brought up in the Protestant Church, and having been sent young over to *St. Omers*. Wherefore I earnestly address'd my self to the Provincial; and to the President of *Guatemala*, for a Licence to come home, but neither of them would yield unto it, because there was a strict order of the King and Council, that no Priest sent by his Majesty to any of the parts of the *India's* to preach the Gospel, should return again to *Spain* till ten years were expired. Hereupon I seeing my self a Prisoner, and without hopes for the present of seeing *England* in many years, resolved to stay no more in *Guatemala*, but to go out to learn some *Indian* tongue, and to preach in some of their Towns, where I knew more money might be got to help me home, when the time should come, than if I did continue to live in the Cloister of *Guatemala*. Yet in the mean time I thought it not unfit to write to *Spain* to a friend of mine an *English* Fryer in *San Lucar*, called Fryer *Pablo de Londres*, to desire him to obtain for me a License from the Court, and from the General of the Order at *Rome* that I might return to my Country. In this season there was in *Guatemala*, Fryer *Francisco de Moran*, the Prior of *Coban* in the Province of *Vera Paz*, who was informing the President and whole Chancery, how necessary it was that some *Spaniards* should be aiding and assisting him for the discovery of a way from that Country to *Jucatan*, and for the suppressing of such barbarous people and Heathens, as stop'd his passage, and often invaded some *Indian* Towns

Towns of Christians. This *Moran* (being my special friend, and having been brought up in *Spain* in the Cloister of *San Pablo de Valladolid*, where my self was first enter'd Fryer) was very desirous of my company along with him, for the better bringing unto Christianity those Heathens and Idolaters, telling me that doubtless in a new Country, new Treasure and great Riches was like to be found, whereof no small share and proportion should befall him and me for our pains and adventure. I was not hard to be perswaded, being above all desirous to convert to Christianity a people that had never heard of Christ ; and so purposed to forsake that honour which I had in the University, for to make Christ known unto that Heathenish people. The Provincial was glad to see this my courage, and so with some gifts and mony in my purse, sent me with *Moran* to the *Vera Paz* in the company of 50 *Spaniards*, who were appointed by the President to aid and assist us.

When we came to *Coban* we were well refreshed and provided for a hard and dangerous enterprize. From *Coban* we marched to two great Towns of Christians called *Saint Peter* and *Saint John*, where were added unto us a hundred *Indians* for our further assistance. From these Towns two days journey we could travel on Mules safely among Christians and some small villages, but after the two days we drew near unto the Heathens Frontiers, where there was no more open way for Mules, but we must trust unto our feet. We went up and down Mountains amongst Woods for the space of two days, being much discouraged with the Thickets and hardness of the way, and having no hope of finding out the Heathens. In the night we kept watch and guard for fear of enemies, and resolved yet the third day to go forward. In the mountains we found many sorts of Fruits and in the bottoms springs and brooks

with many trees of Cacao and Achiotte. The third day we went on, and came to a low Valley, in the midst whereof ran a shallow river, where we found some *Milpa's* and plantations of Maiz. These were a testimony unto us of some *Indians* not far off, and therefore made us keep together and be in readines, if any assault or onset should be made upon us by the Heathens. Whilst we thus travelled on, we suddenly fell upon half a dozen poor cottages, covered with boughs and plantain leaves, and in them we found three *Indian* women, two men and five young children, all naked, who fain would have escaped, but they could not. We refreshed our selves in their poor cottages, and gave them of our provision, which at first they refused to eat, howling, and crying, and puling, till *Moran* had better encouraged and comforted them, whose language they partly understood. We clothed them and took them along with us, hoping to make them discover unto us some treasure or some bigger plantation. But that day they were so fullen that we could get nothing out of them. Thus we went on, following some tracks which here and there we found of *Indians*, till it was almost evening, and then we did light upon above a dozen cottages more, and in them a matter of twenty men, women, and children, from whom we took some bows and arrows, and found there store of plantains, some fish, and wild Venison, wherewith we refreshed our selves. These told us of a great Town two days journey off, which made us be very watchful that night. Here I began with some more of our company to be sick and weary, so that the next day I was not able to go any further; whereupon we resolved to set up our quarters there, and to send out some scouts of *Indians* and *Spaniards* to discover the Country, who found further more Cottages and plantations of Maiz, of Chile, of Turkey beans, and Cotton-wool, but no *Indians* at all, for they were all fled. Our Scouts returned, and gave us some encouragement for the pleasantness of the Country; but withal wished us to be watchful and
care.

careful, for that certainly the flight of those *Indians* was a sign that our coming was noised about the Country. The next day we purposed to move forward to that plantation which our scouts had discovered, being (as we were informed) safer, and more open to foresee any danger ready to befall us. All these plantations lay along by the river, where the sun was exceeding hot, which had caused fevers, and a flux in some of us. With much weariness and faintness I got that day to our journeys end, beginning now to repent me of what I was engaged in, and on foot, and fearing some sudden danger, by reason our coming was now known by the *Indians*. The Prisoners we had with us began to tell us of some gold that they did sometimes find in that river, and of a great lake yet forward, about which did inhabit many thousand *Indians*, who were very warlike and skilful in their bows and arrows. The one encouraged some, the other much discouraged the rest, who wished themselves out of those woods and unknown places, and began to murmur against *Moran* who had been the cause of their engagement in that great danger. Our night watch was set, and I and the rest of the sick *Spaniards* went to rest, some upon the bare ground, but my self and others in *Hamacca's*, which are of net-work, tied at two posts or trees, and hanging in the air, which with the least stirring of the body, rock one a sleep as in a Cradle. Thus I took my rest till about midnight; at which time our watches gave an alarm against our approaching enemies, who were thought to be about a thousand. They came desperately towards us, and when they saw they were discovered, and our drums beat up, and our fowling pieces and Musquets began to shoot, they hollowed and cried out with a hideous noise, which uproar and sudden affrightment, added sweat and fear to my Fever. But *Moran* (who came to confess with me, and to prepare himself for death or for some deadly wound) comforted me, wishing me to fear nothing, and to lie still, for that I could do them no good and that less was my danger then

I apprehended, because our Soldiers had compassed me about, so that on no side the Heathens could come in, and flie we could not without the loss of all our lives. The skirmish lasted not above an hour, and then our enemies began to flie back. We took ten of them, and in the morning found thirteen dead upon the ground, and of ours five only were wounded, whereof one dyed the next day.

In the morning our Soldiers began to mutiny and to talk of returning back, fearing a worse and more violent onset that day or the night following, for some of the *Indians* who were taken, told them plainly that if they went not away there would come six or seven thousand against them. They told us further, that they knew well that the *Spaniards* had all the Country about, except that little portion of theirs, which they desired to enjoy quietly and peaceable, and not to meddle with us, but rather if we would see their Country, and go through it as friends, they would let us without doing us any hurt; but if we came in a warlike manner to fight and to bring them into slavery, as we had done their neighbours, they were all resolved to die fighting rather than to yield. With these words our Soldiers were divided, some with *Moran* were of opinion to try the *Indians*, and to go peaceably through their Country till they could come to some Town of *Jucatan*; others were of opinion to fight, others to return back again, considering their weakness against so many thousands of *Indians* as were in the Country. But that day nothing was agreed upon, for that we could not stir by reason of the sick and wounded. So we continued there that night, and as the night before, much about the same time, the enemies came again upon us, but finding us ready and watching for them, they soon fled. In the morning we resolved to return back, and *Moran* sent the Heathens word, that if they would let him go through their Country quietly to discover some land of *Jucatan*, he would after a few months come peaceably unto them with half a dozen *Indians*, and no more, trusting his life to them.

them ; whom he knew if they wronged, all the *Spaniards* in the Country would rise up against them, and not leave one alive. They answered that they would entertain him and any few *Indians* well and willingly ; all which *Moran* and they performed according their agreement the next year following

Thus we returned that day back the same way that we had come, and I began to find my self better, and my fever to leave me. We carried with us some of those young children which we had taken, to present them unto the President of *Guatemala*. And in *Coban* the Prior *Moran* thought he might first do God good service if he christened those young children, saying, that they might become Saints, and that afterwards their prayers might prevail with God for the conversion of their parents and of all that Country to Christianity. I could not but oppose this his ignorance, which seemed much like unto that of the Fryers who entered *America* with *Cortez*, and increased after the conquest daily more in number, who boasted to the Emperour, that they had some of them made above thirty thousand *Indians* Christians by baptizing them ; which truly they did as sheep are forced to the waters and driven to be washed ; so were those first *Indians* by thousands sprinkled (or if I may use their word, baptized) for they were driven by compulsion and force to the rivers, neither were they first principled in any grounds of belief and Christianity, neither themselves believers, nor children of believing and faithful parents. So would *Moran* christen these children, though I told him that they ought not to partake of that Sacrament and Ordinance of Christ, unless they were grounded in Artic'es of Christianity and believed, or were children of believing parents. But as he had been brought up in errors, whereof that Church of *Rome* is a wide and spacious nest, so he would be obstinate in this point against me and the truth, sprinkling with water those children, and naming them with names of Christians, After this he sent them well apparelled to the President of *Guatemala*, who commanded them to be

kept, and brought up in the Cloister of the Dominican Fryers.

I remained after this for a while in *Coban*, and in the Towns about, until such time as the ships came to the Gulf; whither I went with *Moran* to buy wines, oyl, iron, cloth and such things as the Cloister wanted for the present. At which time there being a Frigate ready to depart to *Truxillo* (some occasions drawing *Moran* thither) I took ship with him. We staid not long above a week in that Port (which is a weak one, as the *English* and *Hollanders* taking of it can witness) but presently we thought of returning back to *Guatemala* by land through the Country of *Comayagua*, commonly called *Honduras*. This is a woody and mountainous Country, very bad and inconvenient for Travellers, and besides very poor; there the commodities are Hides, *Canna fistula*, and *Zarzaparilla*, and such want of bread, that about *Truxillo* they make use of what they call *Cassave*, which is a dry root, that being eaten dry doth choak, and therefore is soaked in broth, water, wine or Chocolate, that so it may go down. Within the Country, and especially about the City of *Comayagua* (which is a Bishops seat, though a small place of some five hundred inhabitants at the most) there is more store of Maiz by reason of some *Indians*, which are gathered to Towns, few and small. I found this Country one of the poorest in all *America*. The chief place in it for health and good living, is the valley which is called *Gracias a Dios*, there are some rich farms of Cattle and Wheat; but because it lieth as near to the Country of *Guatemala* as to *Comayagua*, and on this side the ways are better than on that, therefore more of that Wheat is transported to *Guatemala* and to the Towns about it, than to *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*. From *Truxillo* to *Guatemala* there are between fourscore and a hundred leagues, which we travelled by land, not wanting in a barren Countrey neither guides nor provision, for the poor *Indians* thought neither their personal attendance, nor any thing that they enjoyed too good for us.

Thus

Thus we came again to *Guatemala*, and were by the Fryers joyfully entertained, and by the President highly rewarded, and by the City called true Apostles; because we had ventured our lives for the discovery of Heathens, and opened a way for their conversion, and found out the chief place of their residence, and sent before us those children to the City, who witnessed being with us in the Cloister our pains and indeavours. *Moran* was so puffed up with the Presidents favour, and the popular applause, that he resolved in *Guatemala*, to venture again his life, and according to that message which he had sent before to the Heathen *Indians*, to enter amongst them in a peaceable way with half a dozen *Indians*. He would fain have had me gone with him; but I considered the hardness of the journey, which I thought I should not be able to perform on foot; and also I feared that the *Barbarians* might mutiny against us for those children which we had brought, and lastly I liked not the Country; which seemed poor and not for my purpose, to get means sufficient to bring me home to *England*, which was the chiefest thought and desire of my heart for the satisfaction of my conscience, which I found still unquiet. Wherefore I resolved to forsake the company of my friend *Moran*, and to desist from new discoveries of Heathens, and such difficult undertakings, which might endanger my health and life, and at last bring no profit, but only a little vain glory, fame and credit in that Countrey. I thought I might better imploy my time, if I learned some *Indian* tongue nearer to *Guatemala*, where I consider'd the riches of the Towns, the readines of the *Indians*, and their willingness to farther their Priests wants; and lastly their ignorance in some points of Religion, which I thought I might help and clear with some sound doctrine, and with preaching Christ crucified unto them, and bringing them unto that rock of eternal bliss and salvation. I trusted in my friends so much, that I knew it would not be hard for me to take my choice of any place about *Guatemala*, from whence I might facilitate my return to *England*, and write to *Spain*, and have every year an answer

easier than any where else. I opened my mind unto the Provincial (who was then at *Guatemala*) and he presently and willingly condescended to my request, and counselled me to learn the *Poconchi* language, (whereof I had already got some grounds in the *Vera Paz*) which is most used about *Guatemala*, and also is much practised in *Vera Paz*, and in the Country of *San Salvador*. He promised to send me to the Town of *Petapa*, to learn there the language, with a special friend of his named Fryer *Peter Molina*, who was very old, and wanted the help and company of some younger person to ease him in the charge that lay upon him, of so great a Town, and many Travellers that passed that way. The Provincial, as if he had known my mind, pitched upon my very hearts desire ; and thus two weeks before *Midsummer* day I departed from *Guatemala* to *Petapa*, which is six leagues from thence, and there settled my self to learn that *Indian* tongue. The Fryers of those parts that are any way skilful in the *Indian* languages, have composed Grammars and Dictionaries for the better furthering of others who may supply their places after their decease ; but whilst they live are unwilling to teach the languages unto others, lest their scholars should after a good and well-grounded knowledge of the tongues, supplant their own Masters, and be a means of taking from them that great profit which they have by living as Curates in the *Indian* Towns. Yet this old *Molina* considering himself in years, and for his good friends sake the Provincial, was not unwilling to accept of my company, and to impart unto me what knowledge he had got by many years practice of the *Poconchi* tongue. He gave me therefore a short abstract of all the rudiments belonging unto it, which did consist chiefly of declining Nouns, and Conjugating Verbs, (which I easily learned in the first fortnight that I had been with him) and then a Dictionary of *Indian* words, which was all the rest of my study to get without book, until I was able of my self to preach unto the *Indians*, which with much easiness I obtain'd by discoursing and
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conferring with them, what with my private study I had learned.

After the first six weeks *Molina* writ down for me in the tongue a short exhortation, which he expounded to me, and wished me to learn it without book, which I preached publickly upon the feast of St. *James*. After this he gave me another short exhortation in *Spanish*, to be preached the fifteenth of *August*, which he made me translate into the *Indian* tongue, and he corrected in it what he found amiss, wherewith I was a little more emboldned, and feared not to shew my self in publick to the *Indians*. This practice I continued three or four times till *Michaelmas*, Preaching what with his help I had translated out of *Spanish*, till I was able to talk with the *Indians* alone, and to make my own Sermons. After *Michaelmas*, *Molina* being not a little vain-glorious of what he had done with me, in perfecting me in an unknown tongue in so short a space, which was very little above one quarter of the year, writ unto the Provincial, acquainting him of what pains he had taken with me, and of the good success of his endeavours, assuring him that I was now fit to take a charge of *Indians* upon me, and to preach alone, further desiring him that he would bestow upon me some *Indian* Town and Benefice, where I might by constant preaching, and practice further that which with so much facility I had learned. The Provincial (who had always been my friend) needed not spurs to stir him up to shew more and more his love and kindness to me; but immediately sent me order to go to the two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and to take charge of the *Indians* in them, and to give quarterly an account of what I received thence unto the Cloister of *Guatemala*, unto which all that valley did belong. All the *Indian* Towns and the Fryers that live in them are subordinate unto some Cloister; and the Fryers are called by their Superiours to give up for the Cloisters use what monies they have spared, after their own and their servants lawful maintenance. Which order yet in *Peru* is not observed,

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for, there the Fryers who are once beneficed in *Indian Towns*, depend not upon any Cloister, but keep all that they get for themselves, and so receive not from their Cloisters any clothing, or help for their prvoision, neither give they any account to their Superiours, but keep, cloath and maintain themselves, with what offerings and other duties fall unto them from the *Indians*; which is the cause that the Fryers of *Peru* are the richest in all the *India's*, and live not like Fryers, but rather like Lords, and Game and Dice publickly without controul. But the Fryers of *Guatemala*, *Guaxaca* and *Mexico*, though they have enough and more than is well sutable to their vow and profession of poverty, yet they enjoy not the liberty of the *Peruan* Fryers in their *Indian* Benefices; for what is over and above their expences, they give to their Superiours, and from them they receive every month a jar of wine, of an Arrobe and a half, and every year a new habit with other clothing. Yet with what I have said I must not excuse the Fryers of *Guatemala* from liberty, and the enjoyment of wealth and riches; for they also game and sport, and spend, and fill their bags, and where in their accounts and reckonings to the Cloisters, they might well give up in a year five hundred Crowns, beside their own expences, they give up peradventure three hundred, and usurp the rest for themselves and their vain and idle uses; and trade and traf-fique under hand with Merchants against their vow of poverty.

With this subordination therefore (which I have shew-ed) unto the Prior and Cloister of *Guatemala*, was I sent to preach unto the *Indians* of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from whence for my sake was removed an old Fryer of almost fourscore years of age, and called to his Cloister to rest, who was not able to perform the charge which lay upon him of two Towns, three leagues distant one from another. The settled means for maintenance which I enjoyed in these Towns, and the common offerings and duties, which I received from the *Indians* was this: In

Mixco

Mixco I was allowed every month twenty Crowns, and in *Pinola* fifteen, which was punctually payed by the Alcaldes and Regidors, Mayors and Jurats, before the end of the month; for which payment, the Town sowed a common piece of Land with Wheat or Maiz, and kept their book of accounts, wherein they set down what crops they yearly received; what monies they took in for the sale of their Corn, and in the same book I was to write down what every month I received from them; which book at the years end they were to present to be examined by some officer appointed thereunto by the Court of *Guatemala*. Besides this monthly allowance, I had from the Sodalities of the Souls in Purgatory every week in each Town two Crowns for a Mass; every month two Crowns from *Pinola* upon the first Sunday of the month from the Sodalities of the Rosary; and in *Mixco* likewise every month from three Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin Mary, which were there belonging unto the *Indians*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Black-moors*, two Crowns apiece. Further from two more Sodalities belonging to the *Vera Cruz*, or the Cross of Christ, every month two Crowns apiece. And in *Mixco* from a Sodality of the *Spaniards* belonging to *St. Nicolas de Tolentino*, two Crowns every month; and from a Sodality of *St. Blas* in *Pinola* every month two more Crowns; and finally in *Mixco* from a Sodality entitled of *St. Jacintho* every month yet two Crowns, besides some offerings of either money, fowls, or candles upon those days whereon these Masses were sung; all which amounted to threescore and nine Crowns a moneth, which was surely settled and paid before the end of the month. Besides from what I have formerly said of the Saints statues which do belong unto the Churches, and do there constantly bring both money, fowls, candles, and other offerings upon their day, unto the Priest, the yearly revenues which I had in those two Towns will appear not to have been small; for in *Mixco* there were in my time eighteen Saints Images, and twenty in *Pinola*; which brought unto me

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upon their day four Crowns a piece for Mass and Sermon, and Procession, besides Fowls, Turkeys and Cacao, and the offerings before the Saints, which commonly might be worth at least three Crowns upon every Saints day, which yearly amounted to at least two hundred threescore and six Crowns. Besides the Sodalities of the Rosary of the Virgin, (which as I have before said were four, three in *Mixco*, and one in *Pinola*) upon five several feasts of the year (which are most observed by the Church of *Rome*) brought unto me four Crowns, two for the days Mass, and two for a Mass the day following, which they call the Anniversary for the dead, who had belonged unto those Sodalities, which besides those days offerings (which sometimes were more, sometimes less) and the *Indians* presents of Fowls and Cacao, made up yearly fourscore Crowns more. Besides this, the two Sodalities of the *Vera Cruz* upon two Feasts of the Cross ; the one upon the fourteenth of *September*, the other upon the third of *May*, brought four Crowns apiece for the Mass of the day, and the Anniversary Mass following, and upon every Friday in Lent two Crowns, which in the whole year came to four and forty Crowns ; all which above reckoned, was as a sure rent in those two Towns. But, should I spend time to reckon up what besides did accidentally fall, would be tedious. The Christmans offerings in both those two Towns, were worth to me when I lived there at least forty Crowns. Thursday and Friday offerings before Easter day were about a hundred Crowns ; All-Souls day offerings commonly worth fourscore Crowns ; and Candle-mas day offerings commonly forty more. Besides what was offered unto the Feast of each Town by all the Country which came in, which in *Mixco* one year was worth unto me in Candles and Money fourscore Crowns, and in *Pinola* (as I reckoned it) fifty more. The Communicants (every one giving a Rial) might make up in both Towns at least a thousand Rials ; and the Confessions in Lent at least a thousand more, besides other

other offerings of Eggs, Hony, Cacao, Fowls and Fruits. Every Christning brought two Rials, every Marriage two Crowns, every Death two Crowns more at least; and some in my time dyed, who would leave 10 or 12 Crowns for five or six Masses to be sung for their souls.

Thus are those fools taught that by the Priests singing their souls are delivered from weeping, and from the fire and torments of Purgatory; and thus by singing all the year do those Fryers charm from the poor *Indians* and their Sodalities and Saints an infinite treasure, wherewith they enrich themselves and their Cloisters; as may be gathered from what I have noted by my own experience in those two Towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, (which were far inferiour yet to *Petapa* and *Amatitlan* in the same Valley, and not to be compared in offerings and other Church-duties to many other Towns about that Country) which yet yielded unto me with the offerings cast into the Chests which stood in the Churches for the souls of Purgatory, and with what the *Indians* offered when they came to speak unto me (for they never visit the Priest with empty hands) and with what other Mass-stipends did casually come in, the sum of at least two thousand Crowns of *Spanish* mony, which might yearly mount to five hundred *English* pounds. I thought this Benefice might be a fitter place for me to live in, than in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, wearying out my brains with points of false-grounded Divinity for to get only the applause of the Scholars of the University, and now and then some small profit; which I thought I might look after as well as the rest of my profession, nay with more reason, for that I intended to return to *England*, and I knew I should have little help for so long a journey in leaving there my friends, if so be that I made not my mony my best friend to assist me by Sea and Land. My first endeavour was to certifie my self from the Books of Receipts and Accounts in the Cloister of *Guatemala*, what reckonings my Predecessor and others before him had given up to the Cloister yearly from *Mixco* and *Pinola*, that I might regulate my self and my expences so, as to be able

to live with credit, and to get thanks from the Cloister by giving more than any before me had given. I found that four hundred Crowns had been the most that my old Predecessor had given yearly in his accounts; and that before him little more was usually given from those two Towns; Whereupon I took occasion once in discourse with the Prior of *Guatemala* to ask what he would willingly expect from me yearly whilst I lived in those two Towns; to which he replied, that if I upheld for my part the Cloisters usual and yearly Revenues, giving what my Predecessor had given, he would thank me, and expect no more from me, and that the rest that befel me in those Towns, I might spend it in Books, Pictures, Chocolate, Mules, and Servants; to which I made reply, that I thought I could live in that Benefice creditably enough, and yet give from it more to the Cloister than ever any other before me had given, and that I would forfeit my continuing there, if I gave not to the Cloister every year four hundred and fifty Crowns. The Prior thanked me heartily for it, and told me I should not want for wine, (wishing me to send for it every month) nor for clothing, which he would every year once bestow upon me. This I thought would save a great part of my charges, and that I was well provided for as long as I lived in the *India's*. And here I desire that *England* may take notice how a Fryer that hath professed to be a Mendicant, being beneficed in *America*, may live with four hundred pounds a year clear, and some with much more, with most of his cloathing given him besides, and the most charge of his wine supply'd, with the abundance of Fowls, which cost him nothing, and with such plenty of Beef, as yields him thirteen pound for three pence: Surely well may he game, buy good Mules, furnish his chamber with Hangings and rich Pictures, and Cabinets, yea and fill them with *Spanish* Pistoles, and pieces of eight, and after all trade in the Court of *Madrid* for a Mitre and fat Bishoprick, which commonly is the end of those proud, worldly, and lazy Lubbars.

After

After I was once settled in these my two Towns, my first care was to provide my self of a good Mule, which might soon and easily carry me (as often as occasion called) from the one Town to the other. I soon found out one, which cost me fourscore Crowns, which served my turn very well to ride nine miles the speedily cross the Valley, which were between the two Towns. Though my cheif study here was to perfect my self in the *Indian* tongue, that I might the better preach unto them, and be well understood; yet I omitted not to search out the Scriptures daily, and to addict my self unto the Word of God, which I knew would profit me more than all those riches and pleasures of *Egypt*, which for a while I saw I must enjoy, till my ten years were fully expired, and License from *Rome* or *Spain* granted for me to return to *England*, which I began speedily to sollicite, by means of one Captain *Isidore de Zepeda*, a *Sevil* Merchant and Master of one of the ships, which came that first year that I was settled in *Mixco* with Merchandise for *Guatemala*. By this Captain (who passed often through the Valley) I writ unto my friends in *Spain* and had answers, though at first to little purpose, which did not a little increase the troubles of my conscience, which were great, and such whereof the wise man said, a wounded Conscience who can bear? My friendship with this Captain *Zepeda* was such, that I broke my mind unto him, desiring him to carry me in his Ship to *Spain*, which he refused to do, telling me the danger he might be in, if complaint should be made to the President of *Guatemala*, and wishing me to continue where I was, and to store my self with mony that I might return with license and credit. I resolved therefore with *David* in the 16. *Psal.* and the 8. *v.* to set the Lord always before me, and to choose him for my only comfort, and to rely upon his providence who I knew only could order things for my good, and could from *America* bring me home to the house of Salvation, and to the household of Faith; from which I considered my self an exile, and far banished. In the mean time I lived five full years in the two Towns of

Mixco

Mixco and *Pinola*. Where I had more occasion to get wealth and mony, than ever any that lived there before me: for the first year of my abiding there it pleased God to send one of the Plagues of *Egypt* to that Country, which was of Locusts, which I had never seen till then. They were after the manner of our Grasshoppers, but somewhat bigger, which did flie about in number so thick and infinite, that they did truly cover the face of the Sun, and hinder the shining forth of the beams of that bright Planet. Where they lighted either upon Trees or standing Corn, there nothing was expected but ruine, destruction and barrenness; for the corn they devoured, the leaves and fruits of trees they eat and consumed, and hung so thick upon the branches, that with their weight they tore them from the body. The high ways were so covered with them that they startled the travelling Mules with their fluttering about their head and feet; my eyes were often struck with their wings as I rid along, and much ado I had to see my way, what with a *Montero* wherewith I was fain to cover my face, what with the flight of them which were still before my eyes.

The Farmers towards the South-Sea Coast, cried out for that their Indigo which was then in grass, was like to be eaten up; from the Ingenio's of Sugar, the like moan was made, that the young and tender Sugar Canes would be destroyed; but above all, grievous was the cry of the husbandmen of the valley where I lived, who feared that their Corn would in one night be swallowed up by that devouring Legion. The care of the Magistrate was that the Towns of *Indians* should all go out into the fields with Trumpets, and what other instruments they had to make a noise, and so to affright them from those places which were most considerable and profitable to the Commonwealth; and strange it was to see how the loud noise of the *Indians* and sounding of the Trumpets, defended some fields from the fear and danger of them. Where they lighted in the Mountains and High-ways, there they left behind them their young ones, which were

were found creeping upon the ground ready to threaten with a second years plague if not prevented; wherefore all the Towns were called with Spades, Mattocks and Shovels to dig long Trenches and therein to bury all the young ones.

Thus with much trouble to the poor *Indians*, and their great pains (yet after much hurt and loss in many places) was that flying Pestilence chased away out of the Country to the South Sea, where it was thought to be consumed by the Ocean, and to have found a grave in the waters, whilst the young ones found it in the Land. Yet they were not all so buried, but that shortly some appeared, which not being so many in number as before, were with the former diligence soon overcome. But whilst all this fear was, these outcries were made by the Country and this diligence performed by the *Indians*, the Priests got well by it; for every where Processions were made, and Masses sung for the averting of that Plague. In *Mixco* most of the Idols were carried to the field, especially the pictures of our Lady, and that of Saint *Nicholas Tolentine*, in whose name the Church of *Rome* doth use to bleis little Breads and Wafers with the Saint stamped upon them; which they think are able to defend them from Agues, Plague, Pestilence, Contagion, or any other great and imminent danger. There was scarce any *Spanish* Husbandman who in this occasion came not from the Valley to the Town of *Mixco* with his offering to this Saint, and who made not a vow to have a Mass sung unto Saint *Nicholas*; they all brought breads to be blessed, and carryed them back to their Farms, some casting them unto their Corn, some burying them in their hedges and fences, strongly trusting in Saint *Nicholas*, that his bread would have power to keep the Locusts out of their fields; and so at the last those simple, ignorant and blinded souls, when they saw the Locusts departed and their Corn safe, cried out to our Lady some, others to Saint *Nicholas*, *Milagro*, a Miracle, judging the Saint worthy of praise more than God,

and performing to him their vows of Masses, which in their fear and trouble they had vowed, by which erroneous and Idolatrous devotion of theirs I got that year many more Crowns than what before I have numbred from the Sodalities. The next year following, all that Country was generally infected with a kind of contagious sickness, almost as infectious as the Plague, which they call *Tabardillo*, and was a Fever in the very inward parts and bowels, which scarce continued to the seventh day, but commonly took them away from the world to a grave the third or fifth day. The filthy smell and stench which came from them, which lay sick of this disease, was enough to infect the rest of the house, and all that came to see them; It rotted their very mouths and tongues, and made them as black as a coal before they died. Very few *Spaniards* were infected with this Contagion; but the *Indians* generally were taken with it. It was reported to have begun about *Mexico*, and to have spread from Town to Town till it came to *Guatemala*, and went on forwards; and so likewise did the Locusts the year before, marching as it were from *Mexico* over all the Country. I visited many that died of this infection, using no other Antidote against it, save only a handkerchief dipped in Vinegar to smell unto, and I thank God I escaped where many died. In *Mixco* I buried ninety young and old, and in *Pinola* above an hundred; and for all these that were eight year old, or upwards, I received two Crowns for a Mass for their souls delivery out of Purgatory. See good Reader, whether the conceit of Purgatory have not been a main policy of *Rome* to enrich the Priest and Clergy, with Mass stipends from such as die, making them believe that nothing else can help their souls if once plunged into that conceited fire; Where thou maist see that one contagious sickness in two small Towns of *Indians* brought unto me in less than half a year near a hundred pounds for Masses for almost two hundred that died. Nay such is the greedy covetousness of those Priests, that they will receive three or four Mass stipends for one day, making the people believe

lieve that the same Mass may be offered up for many and do one soul as much good as another. Thus with the Plague of Locusts, and the contagion of sickness, for the first two years together had I an occasion to enrich my self, as did other Priests my neighbours. But think not that because so many died, therefore the Towns growing less my offerings for the future were lessened. The Encomendero's or Lords of the two Towns took care for that, who that they might not lose any part of that Tribute which was formerly paid unto them, presently after the sickness was ceased, caused them to be numbred, and (as I have in the Chapter before observed) forced to marriage all that were twelve years and upwards of age; which also was a new stream of Crowns flowing into my bags; for from every couple that were married I had also two Crowns besides other offerings, and in both the Towns, I married on that occasion above fourscore couple. Truly by all this, I thank the Lord I was more strengthened in my conceit against the Church of *Rome*, and not with the greediness of that Lucre inticed to continuing in it, though I found the performances there far greater than any might be in the Church of *England*, where I knew nothing was to be got with singing, or huddling over a Mass; But yet though for the present my profit was great, my eyes were open to see the errors whereby that profit came so plentifully to me, and to all that crew of Idolatrous Priests. The judgments ceased not here in that Country in my time, but after this Contagion there was such an Inundation of rain, that the Husbandmen feared again the loss of all their Corn. At noon time the dark clouds for a month together began to thicken and cover the face of the Heavens, pouring down such stormy showers as swept away much Corn, and many poor Cottages of *Indians*; besides the rain, the fiery thunderbolts breaking through the clouds threatned a doleful judgment to the Country. In the valley of *Mixco* two riding together were stricken dead from their Mules, the Chapel of our Lady of *Carmel* in the same valley was burnt

to the ground, and likewise two houses at the River of *Vacas*. In *Petapa* another flash of lightning or thunderbolt fell into the Church upon the high Altar, cracking the walls in many places, running from Altar, to Altar, defacing all the gold, and leaving a print and stamp where it had gone without any more hurt. In the Cloister of the Franciscans in *Guatemala*, a Fryer sleeping upon his bed after dinner, was stricken dead, his body being left all black as if it had been burnt with fire, and yet no sign of any wound about him. Many accidents happened that year which was 1632. all about the Country. But my self was by the safe protection of the Almighty wonderfully saved; for being on a Saturday at night in *Mixco* trembling and fearing, and yet trusting in my God, and praying unto him in my chamber, one flash of lightning or thunderbolt fell close to the Church wall to which my chamber joyned, and killed two Calves which were tied to a post in a yard, to be slaughtered the next morning. The lightning was so near and terrible that it seemed to have fired all my house, and struck me down unto the ground, where I lay as dead for a great while; when I came again to my self, I heard many *Indians* about my house, who were come to see if either it or the Church were set on fire. This stormy season brought me also much profit, (for as formerly) the *Spaniards* of the valley and the *Indians* betook themselves to their Idol Saints carrying them about in Procession, which was not done without mony, which they call their alms unto their Saints, that they may the better be heard and intreated by them.

The Summer following there was more than ordinary earthquakes, which were so great that year in the Kingdom of *Pern*, that a whole City called *Truxillo* was swallowed up by the earth which opened it self, and almost all the people were lost, whilst they were at Church worshipping and praying unto their Saints. The hurt they did about *Guatemala* was not so much as in other places, only some few mud-walls were shaken down, and some

Some Churches cracked; which made the people fear and betake themselves again to their Saints, and empty their purses before them for Masses and processions, lest the danger should prove as great, as was that of the great earthquake which happened before my coming into that Countrey. These earthquakes when they begin are more often than long, for they last but a while, stirring the earth with three motions, first on the one side, then on the other, and with the third motion they seem to set it right again. If they should continue, they would doubtless hurl down to the ground any steeple or building though never so great and strong. Yet at this time in *Mexco* some were so violent, that they made the steeple bend so much that they made the bells sound. I was so used unto them that many times in my bed I would not stir for them. Yet this year they brought me to such a fear, that had not the Lord been a present refuge to me in time of trouble, I had utterly been undone. For being one morning in my chamber studying, so great and suddain was an earthquake, that it made me run from my table to a window, fearing that before I could get down the stairs the whole house might fall upon my head, the window was in a thick wall vaulted upwards like an arch (which the *Spaniards* hold to be the safest place if a house should fall) where I expected nothing but death; as soon as I got under it, the earthquake ceased, though my heart ceased not to quake with the suddain affrightment. Whilst I was musing and thinking what to do, whether I should run down to the yard, or continue where I was, there came a second shaking worse than the first. I thought with my self if the house should fall, the Arch would not save my life, and that I should either be stifled or thrown out of the window, which was not very low and near unto the ground, but somewhat high, wide, open, having no glais casements but wooden shuts, (such as there are used) and if I leaped out of the window, I might chance to break a leg, or limb, yet save my life. The suddenness of the astonishment took from me the best

and most mature deliberation in such a case; and in the midst of these my troubled and perplexed thoughts a third motion came as violent as the former, wherewith I had now set one foot in the Window to leap down, had not the same Lord (to whom *David* said in the 46 *Psal.* v, 2, Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved) by his wonderful providence spoken both to me and to the moving earth, saying as in the 10 v. Be still and know that I am God; for certainly had it gone on to a fourth motion, I had by casting down my self broke either my neck, or a leg, or some other joynt. Thus was I twice saved by my good God in *Mixco*, and in *Pinola* I was once no less in danger in losing a leg by means of a smaller instrument than is a flea.

This Town of *Pinola* in the *Indian* language is called *Pancac*; *Pan* signifieth in, or amongst, *Cac*, signifieth three things; for it signifieth the fire, or a fruit otherwise called *guiava*; or thirdly, a small vermin, commonly called by the *Spaniards* *Migua*; which is common over all the *India's* but more in some places than in others. Where there are many Hogs, there is usually much of this sort of vermin. The *Spaniards* report that many of the Soldiers of Sir *Francis Drake* died of them, when they landed about *Nombre de Dios*, and marched up the high Mountains of *St. Pablo* towards *Panama*, who feeling their feet to itch, and not knowing the cause thereof, scratched them so much, till they festred, and at last, (if this report be true) cost them their lives. Some say, they breed in all places, high and low, upon Tables, Beds, and upon the ground; but experience sheweth the contrary, that they only breed upon the ground, for where the houses are sluttish and not often swept, there commonly they are most felt; and in that they usually get into the Feet and Shooes, and seldom into the hands or any other part of the body, argues that they breed upon the ground. They are less than the least flea, and can scarce be perceived, and when they enter into the foot, they make it burn and itch; and if than they be looked to, they appear black, and no bigger then the

the point of a pin, and with a pin may easily be taken out whole; but if part of them be left, the smallest part will do as much harm as the whole, and will get into the flesh. When once they are got in, they breed a little bag in the flesh, and in it a great many Nits, which increase bigger and bigger to the bigness of a great Pea; then they begin again to make the foot itch, which if it be scratched, falleth to festering, and so indangereth the whole foot. Some hold it best to take them out when they cause the first itching and are getting in, but this is hard to do, because they can hardly then be perceived, and they are apt to be broken. Therefore others commonly let them alone, until they be got into the flesh, and have bred a bag with nits, which like a blister sheweth it self through the skin and then with the point of a pin, they dig round about the bag, till they can with the pins point take it out whole, if it be broken, it comes to breed again; if it be taken out, whole, then they put in a little ear wax, or ashes where the bag lay, and with that the hole is healed up again in a day or two. The way to avoid this vermin entring into the foot, is to lay both shooes and stockings, or whatsoever other clothing upon some stool or chair high from the ground, and not to go bare-foot; which yet is wonderful in the *Indians* themselves, that though they commonly do go bare-foot, yet they are seldom troubled with them, which is attributed to the hardness of their skin; for certainly were they as tender footed and skinned as are those that wear both shooes and stockings, they would be as much troubled with them as these are. *Pancac* and *Pinala*, is much subject to this Vermin, or *Migua*, and I found it by woful experience, for at my first coming thither not knowing well the quality of it, I let one breed so long in my foot, and continued scratching it until my foot came to be so festered, that I was fain to lie two whole months in a Chirurgions hand, and at last through Gods great mercy and goodness to me I lost not a Limb. But that the Providence of God may be known to me the worst of all his Creatures, having in so far a Country from all my

friends, and from me may be related unto future Generations, before I conclude this Chapter, I shall further shew both my dangers and deliverances. Though true it is most of the *Indians* are but formally Christians, and only outwardly appear such, but secretly are given to Witchcraft and idolatry, yet as they were under my charge I thought by preaching Christ unto them, and by cherishing them, and defending them from the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, I might better work upon them to bring them to more knowledge of some truths, at least concerning God and Christ. Therefore as I found them truly loving, kind and bountiful unto me, so I endeavoured in all occasions to shew them love by commiserating their sufferings, and taking their part against any *Spaniards* that wronged them, and keeping constantly in my chamber such drugs (as hot Waters, Anniseed and Wine and the like) which I knew might most please them, when they came to see me, and most comfort them, when they were sick or grieved. This my love and pity towards them had almost in *Pinola* cost me my life; For an *Indian* of that Town serving a *Spaniard*, named *Francisco de Montenegro* (who lived a mile and a half from thence) was once so pitifully beaten and wounded by his Master, for that he told him he would complain to me that he payed him not his wages, that he was brought home to the Town, and had I not out of my charity called for a Chirurgeon from *Petapa* to cure him, he had certainly dyed. I could no but complain for the poor *Indian* unto the President of *Guatemala*, who respecting my complaint, sent for my *Spaniard* to the City, imprisoned him and kept him close until the *Indian* was recovered, and so with a Fine sent him back again. In a Sermon I pressed this home unto the neighbouring *Spaniards*, warning them of the wrongs and abuses which they offered unto the poor *Indians*, which I told them I would put up no more than any injury done unto my self, for that I looked upon them as Neophytes and new plants of Christianity, who were not to be discouraged, but by all means of love encouraged to come to Christ; withal I

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commanded all the *Indians* that had any wrong done unto them, to come unto me, assuring them that I would make such a complaint for them as should be heard, as they might perceive I had lately done to some purpose. This Sermon stuck so in *Montenegro* his stomach, that (as I was informed) he made an Oath, that he would procure my death. Though it was told me, yet I could hardly believe it, judging it to be more a bravery and a vain boasting of a *Spaniard*, than any thing else; Yet by the advice of some friends I was counselled to look to my self, which yet I slighted, till one day the boys and *Indians* that served in my house came running to my chamber door, wishing me to look to my self, and not to come out, for that *Montenegro* was come into my Yard with a naked sword to kill me. I charged them from within to call the Officers of the Town to aid and assist me; but in the mean while my furious *Spaniard* perceiving himself discovered, left the Town. With this I thought of securing my self better, and called for a Blackmoor, *Miguel Dalva* a very stout and lusty fellow, who lived from me half a mile, to be about me till I could discover more of *Montenegroes* designs and malicious intents. The next Sabbath day in the morning being to ride to the Town of *Mixco*,^{ca} carried my Blackmore, and half a dozen of *Indians*, in my company, and going through a little Wood in the midst of the valley, there I found my enemy waiting for me, who seeing the train I brought, durst do nothing, but gave me spiteful language, telling me he hoped that he should find me alone some time or other. With this I thought fit to delay no longer my second complaint to the President against him, who as before heard me willingly, and after a months imprisonment banished *Montenegro* 30 leagues from the Valley. And not only from *Spaniards* was I in danger for the *Indians* sake whilst I lived in those Towns, but also some *Indians* themselves, (who were false in Religion) I did undergo great perils, and yet was still delivered.

In *Pinola* there were some, who were much given to
Witch-

witchcraft, and by the power of the Devil did act strange things. Amongst the rest there was one old woman named *Martha de Carrillo*, who had been by some of the Town formerly accused for bewitching many; but the *Spanish* Justices quitted her, finding no sure evidence against her; with this she grew worse, and worse and did much harm. When I was there, two or three died, withering away, declaring at their death that this *Carrillo* had killed them, and that they saw her often about their beds, threatening them with a frowning and angry look. The *Indians* for fear of her durst not complain against her, nor meddle with her; whereupon I sent word unto *Don Juan de Guzman* the Lord of that Town, that if he took not order with her, she would destroy his Town. He hearing of it, got for me a commission from the Bishop and another officer of the Inquisition to make diligent and private inquiry after her life and actions; which I did, and found among the *Indians* many and grievous complaints against her, most of the Town affirming that certainly she was a notorious witch, and that before her accusation she was wont whithersoever she went about the Town to go with a Duck following her, which when she came to the Church, would stay at the door till she came out again, and then would return home with her, which Duck they imagined was her beloved Devil and familiar Spirit, for that they had often set dogs at her and they would not meddle with her but rather run away from her. This Duck never appeared more with her, since she was formerly accused before the Justice, which was thought to be her policy, that she might be no more suspected thereby. This old woman was a widow, and of the poorest of the Town in outward shew, and yet she always had store of money, which none could tell which way she might come by it. Whilst I was thus taking privy information against her (it being the time of Lent, when all the Town came to confession) she among the rest came to the Church to confess her Sins, and brought me the best present and offering of all the Town, for whereas a *Rial* is common, she brought me four, and besides

a Turkey, Eggs, Fish, and a little bottle of hony. She thought thereby to get with me a better opinion than I had of her from the whole Town; I accepted of her great offerings, and heard her Confession, which was of nothing but trifles, which could scarce be judged sinful actions. I examined her very close of what was the common Judgment of all the *Indians*, and especially of those who dying had declared to my self at their death that she had bewitched them, and before their sickness had threatned them, and in their sickness appeared threatning them with their death about their beds, none but they themselves seeing her. To which she replied weeping, that she was wronged. I asked her, how she being a poor widow without any sons to help her, without any means of livelyhood had so much mony as to give me more than the richest of the Town, how she came by that Fish, Turkey, and Hony, having none of this of her own about her house? to which she replied, that God loved her and gave her all these things, and that with her mony she had bought the rest. I asked her of whom? she answered that out of the Town she had them. I perswaded her much to repentance, and to forsake the Devil and all fellowship with him; but her words and answers were of a Saintly and holy woman, and she earnestly desired me to give her the Communion with the rest that were to receive the next day. Which I told her I durst not do, using Christs words, Give not the childrens bread unto dogs, nor cast your pearls unto swine; and that it would be a great scandal to give the Communion unto her, who was suspected generally, and had been accused for a Witch. This she took very ill, telling me that she had many years received the Communion, and now in her old age it grieved her to be deprived of it; her tears were many, yet I could not be moved with them, but resolutely denied her the Communion, and so dismissed her. At noon when I had done my work in the Church, I bad my servants go to gather up the Offerings, and gave order to have the fish dressed for my dinner which she had brought; but no sooner was it carried into the Kitchen, when the Cook

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looking on it found it full of Maggots, and stinking, in that I was forced to hurl it away. With that I began to suspect my old Witch, and went to look on her hony, and powring it out into a dish, I found it full of Worms, her eggs I could not know from others, there being near a hundred offered that day; but after as I used them, we found some rotten, some with dead chickens within; the next morning the Turkey was found dead; as for her four Rials, I could not perceive whether she had bewitched them out of my pocket, for that I had put them with many other, which that day had been given me, yet as far as I could I called to memory who and what had been given, me and in my Judgment and reckoning I verily thought that I missed four Rials. At night when my servants the *Indians* were gone to bed, I sat up late in my chamber betaking my self to my Books and study, for I was the next morning to make an exhortation to those that received the Communion. After I had studyed a while, it being between ten and eleven of the Clock, on a sudden the chief door in the hall (where in a lower room was my chamber, and the servants, and three other doors) flew open, and I heard one come in, and for a while walk about, then was another door opened which went into a little room, where my saddles were laid; with this I thought it might be the Black-moor *Miguel Dalva*, who would often come late to my house to lodge there, especially since my fear of *Montenegro*, and I conjectured that he was laying up his saddle, I called unto him by his name two or three times from within my chamber, but no answer was made, but suddenly another door that went out to a Garden flew also open, wherewith I began within to fear, my joynts trembled, my hair stood up, I would have called out to the servants, and my voice was as it were stopped with the sudden affrightment, I began to think of the Witch and put my trust in God against her, and encouraged my self and voice, calling out to the servants, and knocking with a Cane at my door within that they might hear me, for I durst not open it and go out. With
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the noise which I made the servants awaked and came out to my chamber door ; then I opened it, and asked them if they had not heard some body, in the hall, and all the doors opened. They said they were asleep, and heard nothing, only one boy said he heard all, and related unto me the same that I had heard. I took my candle then in my hand and went out into the hall with them to view the doors, and I found them all shut, as the servants said they had left them. Then I perceived that the Witch would have affrighted me, but had no power to do me any harm ; I made two of the servants lie in my chamber, and went to bed, In the morning early I sent for my *Fiscal* the Clerk of the Church, and told him what had happened that night ; he smiled upon me, and told me it was the widow *Carillo*, who had often played such tricks in the Town with those that had offended her, and therefore he had the night before come unto me from her desiring me to give her the Communion lest she should do me some hurt, which I denied unto him, as I had done to her self. The Clerk bad me be of good cheer, for he knew she had no power over me to do me any hurt. After the Communion that day some of the chief *Indians* came unto me, and told me that old *Carillo* had boasted that she would play me some trick or other, because I would not give her the Communion. But I to rid the Town of such a limb of Satan, sent her to *Guatemala*, with all the evidences and witnesses which I had found against her unto the President and Bishop, who commanded her to be put in prison, where she died within two months.

Many more *Indians* there were in that Town, who were said in my time to do very strange things. One, called *John Gonzalez* was reported to change himself into the shape of a Lyon, and in that shape was one day shot in the nose by a poor harmless *Spaniard* who chiefly got his living by going about the Woods and Mountains, and shooting at wild Deer and other beasts to make money of them. He espied one day a Lyon, and having no other aim at him but his snout behind a tree, he shot at him ; the Lyon run away ;
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the same day this *Gonzalez* was taken sick, I was sent for to hear his Confession, I saw his face and nose all bruised, and asked him how it came, he told me then that he had fallen from a tree and almost killed him; yet afterwards he accused the poor *Spaniard* for shooting at him; the business was examined by a *Spanish* Justice, my evidence was taken for what *Gonzalez* told me of his fall from a tree, the *Spaniard* was put to his oath, who swore that he shot at a *Lyon* in a thick Wood, where an *Indian* could scarce be thought to have any business, the tree was found out in the Wood, whereat the shot had been made and was still marked with the shot and bullet; which *Gonzalez* confessed was to be the place, and was examined how he neither fell nor was seen by the *Spaniard* when he came to seek for the *Lyon*, thinking he had killed him; to which he answered that he ran away lest the *Spaniard* should kill him indeed. But his answers seeming frivolous, the *Spaniards* integrity being known, and the great suspicion that was in the Town of *Gonzalez* his dealing with the Devil, cleared the *Spaniard* from what was laid against him.

But this was nothing to what after happened to one *John Gomez*, the chiefest *Indian* of that Town of near fourscore years of age, the Head and Ruler of the principallest Tribe among the *Indians*, whose advise and counsel was taken and preferred before all the rest, who seemed to be a very godly *Indian*, and very seldom missed morning and evening prayers in the Church, and had bestowed great riches there. This *Indian* very suddenly was taken sick (I being then in my other Town of *Mixco*,) the *Mayordomos*, or stewards of the Sodality of the Virgin fearing that he might die without Confession and they be chid for their negligence, at midnight called me up at *Mixco* desiring me to go presently and help *John Gomez* to die, whom also they said desired much to see me and to receive some comfort from me. I judging it a work of charity, although the time of the night were unseasonable, and the great rain at the present might have stopped my charity,

charity, yet I would not be hindred by either of them, and so set forth to ride nine miles both in the dark and wet. When I came to *Pinola* being thorough wet to the skin, I went immediately to the house of old sick *Gomez*, who lay with his face all muffled up, thanked me for my pains and care I had for his soul; he desired to confess, and by his confession and weeping evidenced nothing but a godly life, and a willing desire to die and to be with Christ. I comforted him and prepared him for death, and before I departed, asked him how he felt himself; he answered that his sickness was nothing but old age and weakness. With this I went to my house, changed my self and lay down a while to rest, when suddenly I was called up again to give *Gomez* the extream unction, which the *Indians* (as they have been ignorantly taught) will not omit to receive before they die. As I anointed him in his nose, his lips, his eyes, his hands and his feet, I perceived that he was swelled, and black and blew; but made nothing of it, judging it to proceed from the sickness of his body; I went again home being now break of the day, when after I had taken a small nap, some *Indians* came to my door for to buy candles to offer up for *John Gomez* his soul, whom they told me was departed, and was that day to be buried very solemnly at Mass. I arose with drowsie eyes after so unquiet a nights rest; and walked to the Church, where I saw the grave was preparing, I met with two or three *Spaniards* who lived neer the Town and were come to Mass that morning, who went in with me to my chamber, and with them I fell into discourse about *John Gomez*, telling them what comfort I had recieved at his death, whom I judged to have lived very holily, and doubted not of his salvation, and that the Town would much want him, for that he was their chief guide and leader, ruling them with good advice and counsel. At this the *Spaniards* smiled one at another, and told me I was much deceived by all the *Indians*, but especially by the deceased *Gomez*, if I judged him to have been a Saint, and holy man. I told them that they as enemies

mies to the poor *Indians* judged still uncharitably of them; but that I who knew very well their consciences, could judge better of them than they. One then replied, that it seemed I little knew the truth of *John Gomez* his death by the Confession which he had made unto me, and that I seemed to be ignorant of the stir which was in the Town concerning his death. This seemed so strange unto me, that I desired them to inform me of the truth. Then they told me that the report went, that *John Gomez* was the chief wizard of all the wizards, and witches in the Town; and that commonly he was wont to be changed into the shape of a Lyon, and so to walk about the mountains. That he was ever a deadly enemy to one *Sebastian Lopez* an ancient *Indian*, and head of another Tribe; and that both of them two days before had met in the mountain, *Gomez* in the shape of a Lyon, and *Lopez* in the shape of a Tigre and that they fought most cruelly, till *Gomez* (who was the older and weaker) was tired, much bit and bruised; and died of it. And further that I might be assured of this truth, they told me that *Lopez* was in prison for it, and the two Tribes striving about it; and that the Tribe and kindred of *Gomez* demanded from *Lopez* and his Tribe and kindred satisfaction, and a great sum of mony or else did threaten to make the case known unto the *Spanish* power and authority, which yet they were unwilling to do if they could agree and smother it up among themselves, that they might not bring an aspersi^on upon their own Town. This seemed very strange unto me, and I could not resolve what to beleive, and thought I would never more beleive an *Indian*, if I found *John Gomez* to have so much dissembled and deceived me. I took my leave of the *Spaniards* and went my self to the Prison, where I found *Lopez* with fetters. I called one of the officers of the Town, who was *Alguazil Maior*, and my great friend, unto my house, and privatly examined him why *Lopez* was kept so close prisoner; he was loth to tell me fearing the rest of the *Indians*, and hoping the business would be taken up, and agreed by the two Tribes, and
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not noised about the Countrey, which at the very instant the two Alcaldes and Regidores, Maiors and Jurats, with the chief of both Tribes were sitting about in the Town-house all that morning. But I seeing the Officer timorous, was more desirous to know something, and pressed more upon him for the truth, giving him an inkling of what I had heard from the *Spaniards* before. To which he answered that if they could agree amongst themselves, they feared no ill report from the *Spaniards* against their Town; I told him I must know what they were agreeing upon amongst themselves so closely in the Town-house. He told me, if I would promise him to say nothing of him (for he feared the whole Town if they should know he had revealed any thing unto me) he would tell me the truth. With this I comforted him, and gave him a cup of Wine, and encouraged him, warranting him that no harm should come unto him for what he told me. Then he related the business unto me as the *Spaniards* had done, and told me that he thought the Tribes amongst themselves would not agree, for that some of *Gomez* his friends hated *Lopez* and all such as were so familiar with the Devil, and cared not if *Gomez* his dissembling life were laid open to the World; but others he said, who were as bad as *Lopez* and *Gomez*, would have it kept close, lest they and all the Witches and Wizards of the Town should be discovered. This struck me to the very heart. to think that I should live amongst such people, whom I saw were spending all they could get by their work and labour upon the Church, Saints, and in offerings, and yet were so privy to the counsels of Satan; it grieved me that the Word I preached unto them, did no more good, and I resolved from that time forward to spend most of my endeavours against Satans subtilty, and to shew them more than I had done, the great danger of their Souls who had made any compact with the Devil, thar I might make them abandon and abjure his works, and close with Christ by Faith. I dismissed the *Indian*, and went to the Church, to see if the people were come to Mass; I found there

no body but only two who were making *Gomez* his Grave. I went back to my Chamber, troubled much within my self, whether I should allow him a Christian burial, who had lived and died so wickedly, as I had been informed. Yet I thought I was not bound to believe one *Indian* against him, nor the *Spaniards*, whom I supposed spoke but by hearsay. Whilst I was thus musing, there came unto me at least twenty of the chiefest of the Town with the two Majors, Jurates, and all the Officers of Justice, who desired me to forbear that day the burying of *John Gomez*, for that they had resolved to call a Crown Officer to view his Corps and examine his death, lest they all should be troubled for him, and he be again unburyed. I made as if I knew nothing but enquired of them the reason; then they related all unto me, and told me how there were witnesses in the Town who saw a Lyon and a Tyger fighting, and presently lost sight of the Beasts, and saw *John Gomez*, and *Sebastian Lopez*, much about the same place parting one from another; and that immediately *John Gomez* came home bruised to his bed, from whence he never rose more, and that he declared upon his death-bed unto some of his friends that *Sebastian Lopez* had killed him; whereupon they had him in safe custody. Further they told me that though they had never known so much wickedness of these two chief heads of their Town whom they had much respected and followed, yet now upon this occasion, from the one Tribe and the other they were certainly informed that both of them did constantly deal with the Devil, which would be a great asperision upon their Town, but they for their parts abjured all such wicked ways, and prayed me not to conceive the worse of all for a few, whom they were resolved to persecute, and suffer not to live among them. I told them I much liked their good zeal, and encouraged them as good Christians to endeavour the rooting out Satan from their Town, and they did very well in giving notice to *Guatemala*, to the *Spanish* power, of this accident, and that if they had concealed it, they might all have been punished as guilty of *Gomez* his death,

death, and Agents with Satan, and his instruments. I assured them I had no ill conceit of them, but rather judged well of them for what they were agreed to do. The Crown Officer was sent for who came that night and searched *Gomez* his body; I was present with him, and found it all bruised, scratch'd and in many places bitten and sore wounded. Many evidences and suspicions were brought in against *Lopez* by the *Indians* of the Town, especial by *Gomez* his friends, whereupon he was carried away to *Guatemala*, and there again was tryed by the same witnesses, and not much denying the fact himself, was there hanged. And *Gomez*, though his grave was opened in the Church, he was not buried in it, but in another made ready for him in a Ditch.

In *Mixco* I found also some *Indians* no less dissemblers than was this *Gomez*, and those of the chiefest and richest of the Town, who were four Brothers called *Fuentes*, and half a score more. These were outwardly very fair tongued, liberal, and free handed to the Church, much devoted to the Saints, great feasters upon their day, and yet in secret great Idolaters. But it pleased God to make me his instrument, to discover and bring to light the secrecy of their hidden works of darkness, which it seems the privacy of a thick Wood and Mountain had many years hid from the eyes of the World. Some of these being one day in the company of other better Christians drinking hard of their *Chicha*, boasted of their God, saying that he had preached unto them better than I could preach, nay that he had plainly told them that they should not believe any thing that I preached of Christ, but follow the old ways of their Forefathers, who worshipped their Gods aright, but now by the example of the *Spaniards* they were deluded, and brought to worship a false God. The other Christians hearing of this began to wonder, and to enquire of them where that God was, and with much ado, promising to follow their ways, and their God, got out of them the place and Mountain where they might find him. Though this in drunkenness were agreed upon, yet in

soberness the good Christians thought better of what they had agreed upon, and slighted what before in drinking they heard, and yet it was not kept by them so close, but that it came to the ears of a *Spaniard* in the Valley; who finding himself touched in conscience, came to *Mixco* to me, and told me what he had heard, that some *Indians* of that town followed an Idol, and boasted that he had preached unto them against my Doctrine, and for the ways of the former Heathens. I thanked God for that he was pleased to undermine the secret works of Satan daily, and desired the *Spaniard* to tell me by whom he came to know of this. He told me the *Indians* name from whom he had it, and that he was afraid to discover the *Indians* and to tell me of it. I sent for the *Indian* before the *Spaniard*, who confessed unto me that he had heard of such a thing; but knew that if he did discover the *Indians*, they with the power of the Devil would do him much harm; I told him, if he were a true Christian, he ought to fight against the Devil, and not to fear him, who could do him no harm if God were with him, and he closed by Faith with Christ, and that the discovery of that Idol might be a means for the converting of the Idolaters, when they shall see the small power of their false God against the true God of the Christians. Further I told him plainly, that if he did not tell me who the *Indians* were, and where their Idol was, that I would have him to *Guatemala*, and there make him discover what he knew. Here the *Indian* began to tremble, and told me the *Fuentes* had boasted of such an Idol, whom they called their God, and gave some signs of a Fountain and of a Pine-Tree at the mouth of a Cave in such a Mountain. I asked him, if he knew the place, or what kind of Idol it was; he told me that he had often been in that Mountain, where he had seen two or three springs of water, but never was in any Cave. I asked him if he would go with me, and help me to find it out, he refused still fearing the Idolaters, and wished me not to go, for fear if they should be there, they might kill me rather than be discovered. I answered him that I would carry with me
such

such a Guard as should be able to defend me against them, and my Faith in the true living God, would secure me against that false God. I resolved therefore with the *Spaniard* to go to search out the cave the next day, and to carry with me three or four *Spaniards* and my Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and that *Indian*. I told him I would not suffer him to go home to his house that day, for fear he should discover in the Town my design and purpose, and so we might be prevented by the Idolaters, who certainly that night would take away their Idol. The *Indian* still refused, till I threatned him to send for the Officers of Justice and to secure his person; with this he yielded, and that he might have no discourse with any body in the Town, nor with the Servants of my house, I desired the *Spaniard* to take him home to his house, and to keep him there close that day and night, promising to be with him the next morning. I charged the *Spaniards* also with secrecy, and so dismissed him with the *Indian*. That day I rid to *Pinola* for the Blackmore *Miguel Dalva*, and brought him to *Mixco* with me, not telling him what my intent was; I went also to four neighbouring *Spaniards*, desiring them to be in a readiness the next morning to go a little way with me for the service of God, and to meet me at such a neighbours house, and that if they would bring their fowling pieces, we might chance to find some sport where we went, and as for provision of Wine and Meat, I would provide sufficiently. They promised to go with me, thinking that although I told them, it was for the service of God, my purpose only was to hunt after some wild Deer in the Mountains. I was glad they construed my action that way, and so went home, and provided that night a good Gammon of Bacon, and some Fowls roasted cold, and others boiled, well peppered and salted for the next days work. Where I had appointed my *Indian* to be kept, I met with the rest of my company, and from thence we went together to the place of the Idolaters worshipping, which was some six miles from *Mixco* towards the Town of *St. John Sacatepeques*. When we came into the

Wood we presently met with a deep Barranca, or bottom where was a running, which encouraged us to make there diligent search, but nothing could be found; from thence we ascended up out of the Barranca, and found after much time spent a spring of water, and looked carefully about it, but could find no Cave. Thus in vain we searched till the Evening, and fearing lest we might lose our way and our selves, if the night overtook us, my friends began to speak of returning homewards. But I considering that as yet we had not gone over one half part of the Wood, and to go home and come again might make us to be noted, and spoken of, we thought it our best way to take up our lodging that night in the Wood, and in that bottom which we first searched, where was good water for to drink Chocolate, and warm lying under the trees, and so in the morning to make our second search. The Company was very willing to yield unto it, and the calm night favoured our good intentions. We made a fire for our Chocolate, and supped exceeding well of our cold meat, and spent most part of the night in merry discourse, having a watchful eye on our *Indian*, lest he should give us the slip, committing him to the charge of *Miguel Dalva*. In the morning we prayed unto God, beseeching him to guide us that day in the work we went about, and to discover unto us the Cave of darkness and iniquity, where lay hid that instrument of Satan, that so by his discovery glory might be given unto our true God, and shame and punishment brought upon his enemies. We enter'd again into the Wood up a steepy hill, and having thoroughly searched all the South side of it, we went on to the North side, where we found another deep descent, which we began to walk down looking on every side, and not in vain; for almost half a mile from the top we found some marks of a way that had been used and trodden, which we followed until we came to another spring of water; we searched narrowly about it, and found some pieces of broken earthen dishes and pots, and one piece of a chafing-dish, such as the *Indians* use to burn Frankincense

Frankincense in, in the Churches before their Saints; we verily imagined that these were pieces of such instruments wherewith the Idolaters performed their duty unto their Idol, and we were the more comforted for that we knew this earthen ware had been made in *Mixco*; the Pine Tree which immediately we discovered confirmed our hopes. When we came unto it we made very little more search, for neer at hand was the Cave, which was dark within but light at the mouth, where we found more earthen ware, with ashes in them, which assured us of some Frankincense that had been burned. We knew not how far the Cave might reach within, nor what might be in it, and therefore with a flint we struck fire and lighted a couple of candles and went in; at the entring it was broad, and went a little forward, but when we were in, we found it turn on the left hand towards the mountain, and not far; for within two rods we found the Idol standing upon a low stool covered with a linen cloth. The substance of it was wood, black shining like Jet, as if it had been painted or smoaked, the form was of a mans head unto the shoulders without either Beard or Mustachoes; his look was grim with a wrinkled forehead, and broad startling eyes. We feared not his frowning Look, but presently seized upon him; and as we lifted him up we found under him some single Rials, which his Favorites had offered unto him; which made us search more diligently the Cave; and it was not amiss, for we found upon the ground more single Rials, some plantins and other fruits, wax candles half burned, pots of Maiz, one little one of Hony, little dishes wherein Frankincense had been burned, whereby I perceived the Idolaters and Christians both agreed in their offerings; and had I not been informed that they called this Idol their God, I could have blamed them no more than the rest of the Towns who worship, kneel before and offer such offerings unto their Saints made of Wood, and some no handsomer than was this Idol, which I thought, might have been some beasts shape; but being the shape and form of a man, they might have named him

by the name of some Saint, and so some way have excused themselves, which they could not do, nor would they do it, in that they persisted in this error, that he was their God, and had spoken and preached unto them, and being afterwards asked by me, whether it were the picture of any Saint, such as were in *Mixco*, and other Churches, they answered, No, but that he was above all the Saints in the Country.

We were very joyful to see that we had not spent our time in vain, we cut down boughs of trees, and filled the Cave with them and stopped the mouth of it up, and came away, making the *Indian* that went with us carry the Idol on his back wrapped up in cloth, that it might not be seen or perceived as we went. I thought it fit to delay the time till night, and then to enter into *Mixco*, that the *Indians* might see nothing. So I stayed at one of the *Spaniards* houses, till it were late, and desired him to warn from me all the *Spaniards* thereabouts to be at *Mixco* Church the next Sabbath, (fearing lest the Idolaters might be many, and rise up against me) that I had somewhat to say unto them and their Blackmoors concerning their Solalities, for I would not have them know of the Idol, till they heard of it and saw it in the Church, lest it should come to the *Indians* hearing, and so the Idolaters might absent themselves. At night I took my *Indian*, and *Miguel Dalva* with me, and went home, and shutting up the Idol in a chest till the next Sabbath, I dismissed the *Indian*, charging him to say nothing, for he knew if he did what harm might come unto him from the Idolaters, and I knew few words now would suffice, for that he feared himself, if it should be known that he had been with me. I kept *Miguel Dalva* with me, who was desirous to see the end of the business, and prepared my self against the next Sabbath to preach upon the 3. v. of the 20. of *Exodus*, *Thou shalt have none other Gods before me*, though it were a Text nothing belonging to the Gospel of the day, from whence commonly in the Church of *Rome* the Texts and subjects of Sermons are deducted; but

but I judged that Text most seasonable for the present occasion. On the Sabbath day in the morning, when the Pulpit was made ready by him who had care of the Church and Altars, I caused *Miguel Dalva* to carry under his Cloak the Idol, and to leave it in the Pulpit upon the ground that it might not be seen, till such time as I should think fit in my Sermon to produce it, and to walk about the Church till the Congregation came in, that none might see it or take it away. Never was there a greater resort from abroad to that Church than that day of *Spaniards* and *Blackmoors*, who by the warning I sent unto them expected some great matter from me, and of the Town very few were absent, the *Fuentes* and all the rest that were suspected to be that Idols favorites (little thinking that their God was brought from his Cave, and now lay hid in the Pulpit to shame them) came also that day to Church. I commanded *Miguel Dalva* to be himself near the Pulpit at Sermon time, and to warn those *Spaniards* that knew the business, and some more *Blackmoors* his friends to be also near the Pulpit stairs.

Thus Mass being ended, I went up to preach; when I rehearsed the words, of my Text, I perceived both *Spaniards* and *Indians* began to look one upon another, as not being used to Sermons out of the Old Testament. I went on laying open this Command of God having no other Gods before him, so that the Doctrine might seem to convince all that were there present, as well Saint-worshippers, as indeed those Idol-worshippers, if the cause of my preaching upon that subject had not diverted their eyes from themselves to behold their own guiltiness of Idolatry, and to look only upon those who worshipped a piece of Wood for God, and not, as they did, for a Saint (which yet in my judgment was much alike.) After I had spoken what I thought fit concerning that horrible sin, and shewed that no creature could have the power of God (who was the Creator of all things) neither could do good or harm without the true living Gods Commission, especially inanimate Creatures as stocks, and stones, who by the hand and workmanship of man might have eyes, and yet were dead Idols,
and

and see not, might have ears and not hear, might have mouths, and not speak, might have hands, and not work, nor help or defend with them such as worshipped them, and bowed down unto them.

Thus having half finished my Sermon, I bowed my self down in the Pulpit, and lifted up the black, grim and staring Devil, and placed that Dagon on one side of the Pulpit, with my eyes fixed upon some of the *Fuenies* and others, who I perceived changed their colour, blushed, and were sore troubled, looking one upon another. I desired the Congregation to behold what a God was worshipped by some of them, and all to take notice of him, if any knew what part of the earth was the Dominion of this God, or from whence he came. I told them that some had boasted that this piece of Wood had spoken, and preached against what I had taught of Christ, and that therefore he was worshipped by them for God, and they had offered Mony, Hony, and of the Fruits of the earth unto him, and burnt Frankincense before him in a secret and hidden Cave under the earth, shewing thereby that they were ashamed to own him publickly, and that he lurking in the darkness of the earth, shewed certainly that he belonged to the Prince of darkness. I challenged him there in publick to speak for himself, or else by silence to shame and confound all his worshippers. I shewed them how being but wood, he had been made and fashioned by the hands of man, and therefore was but a dead Idol. I spent a great deal of time arguing with him, and defying Satan who had used him as his Instrument, daring the Devil himself to take him from that place which I had confined him to if he could, to shew what little power he or Satan had against the power of my faith in Christ. After much arguing and reasoning according to the shallow Capacity of the *Indians* present, I told them if that their God had power to deliver him from that execution, which I had intended against him (which was there publickly to have him cut in pieces, and burnt) they should not believe the Gospel of Jesus Christ; but if they saw no
power

power at all in him against me the weakest instrument of the true living God, then I beseeched them to be converted unto that true God who created all things, and to embrace salvation by his Son the only Mediatour and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to renounce and abjure from that time all Heathenish Idolary of their forefathers, assuring them for what was past I would intercede for them, and secure them from what punishment might be inflicted upon them by the President and Bishop, and if they would come to me, I would spend my best endeavours for the helping and furthering of them in the way of Christianity.

And thus concluding without naming any person, I went down out of the Pulpit, and caused the Idol to be brought after me, and sending for an axe, and for two or three great pans of coals, I commanded him to be hewen in very small pieces, and to be cast in the fire and burned before all the people in the midst of the Church. The Spaniards cried out joyfully *Victoria Victoria*, and others repeated, *Gloria à nostro Dios*, Glory to our God: the Idolaters held their peace and spake not then a word. But afterwards they acted most spitefully against me, and conspired day and night to get me at some advantage, and to kill me. I writ to the President of *Guatemala* informing him of what I had done, and to the Bishop (as an Inquisitor to whom such cases of Idolatry did belong) to be informed from him of what course I should take with the *Indians* who were but in part yet discover'd unto me, and those only by the relation of one *Indian*. From both I received great thanks for my pains in searching the mountain, and finding out the Idol, and for my zeal in burning of it. And as touching the *Indian* Idolaters their counsel unto me was, that I should further enquire after the rest and discover as many as I could, and endeavour to convert them to the knowlege of the true God by fair and sweet means, shewing pity unto them for their great blindness, and promising them upon their repentance pardon from the Inquisition, which considering them to be
but

but new plants, useth not such rigour with them, which it useth with *Spaniards*, if they fall into such horrible sins. This advice I followed, and sent privately for the *Fuentes* to my chamber, and told them how merciful the Inquisition was unto them, expecting their conversion and amendment. They seemed somewhat stubborn and angry for that I had burned that God, whom not only they, but many others in the Town, and also in the Town of Saint *John Sacatepeques* did worship. I used reasons to perswade them no honour was due unto it, as to a God. But one of them boldly replied, that they knew that it was a piece of wood and of it self could not speak, but seeing it had spoken (as they were all witnesses) this was a miracle whereby they ought to be guided, and they did verily believe that God was in that piece of wood, which since the speech made by it was more than ordinary wood, having God himself in it, and therefore deserved more offering and adoration than those Saints in the Church, who did never speak unto the people. I told them that the Devil rather had framed that speech (if any they had heard) for to deceive their souls and lead them to hell; which they might easily perceive from the Doctrine which I was informed he had preached againg Christ the only begotten Son of God, whom the Father loveth and in whom he is well pleased, and against whom he certainly would not speak in that Idol. Another answered boldly, our forefathers never knew what Christ was, until the *Spaniards* came unto that Countrey; but they knew there were Gods, and did worship them, and did sacrifice unto them; and for ought they knew this God of theirs belonged in old times unto their forefathers. Why then, I said unto them, he was a weak God who by my hand hath been burned? I perceived that at that time there was no reasoning with them, for they were stubborn and captious, and so I dismissed them. Had not God most graciously protected me against these my enemies, I had certainly been murdered by them: for a month after the burning of the Idol, when I thought all had been forgotten, and that the Idolaters were

were quiet, then they began to act their spight and malice, which first I discovered by a noise which once at midnight I heard of people about my house, and at my chamber door; to whom I call'd out from my bed not daring to open, but could have no answer from them. I perceived they would have come in by force, for they pushed hard at the door. Whereupon I took suddainly the sheets from off my Bed, tying them with a strong knot together, and with another to a bar of the window, making my self ready to fall down by them to the ground, and so to flie in the dark night, if they had used violence to come in. The sheets being thus prepared, and they still at the door thrusting without any word from them, I thought by calling and crying out aloud I might affright them away. Wherefore with a shrill voice I call'd first to my servants, who were but boys, and lay at the further end of a long Gallery, then I cryed out to the neighbouring houses to come and assist me against thieves. The servants had heard the noise and were awake, who presently at my call came out; and with their coming my enemies ran down the stairs, and were heard no more that night. But I perceiving which way their spight and malice was bent, thought fit to be no more alone in the night, with boys only in so great a house as was that of *Mixco*; whereupon the next day I sent for my trusty friend *Miguel Dalva* who was able to fight alone with any half dozen of *Indians*, wishing him to bring with him what weapons he could get for my defence. I kept him with me a fortnight; and the next Sabbath I gave warning in the Church, that whosoever came in the night to my House to affright me, or to do me any other mischief should look to himself, for that I had weapons, both offensive and defensive. Though for a while I heard no more of them, yet they desisted not altogether from their evil and malicious intents; for knowing that *Miguel Dalva* did not lie in the chamber with me, a fortnight after (I being till about midnight with my Candle studying) they came up the stairs so softly that I heard them not; but the *Black-moor* being awake it seems perceived that they were
coming

coming up, and softly arose up from a long Table where he lay upon a Mat, and took in his hands a couple of brick-bats of many which lay under the table for a work which I had in hand, and as he opened the door made a little noise which was to them an item to flie down the stairs, and to run (as they thought) for their lives. The *Blackmore* did also run after them, and finding they had got too much advantage of him, and not knowing which way they might take, sent after them with a fury his two brick-bats, wherewith he supposed he did hit one of them, for the next day walking about the Town he met with one of the *Fuentes* having a Cap on his head, and he inquired of some *Indians* what he ailed, and he understood by them that his Head was broke, but how they knew not. They perceiving that I was thus guarded by *Miguel Dalva*, desisted from that time from coming any more in the night unto my house, but yet desisted not from their spite and malice and from acting mischief against me. For a month after, when I thought that all had been forgotten, and they seemed outwardly to be kind and courteous, there came a messenger to me from the oldest of them, named *Pablo de Fuentes*, to tell me that he was very sick, and like to die, and desired me to go to comfort and instruct him in the truth, for that he truly desired to be converted. I conceived very great joy at this news, and doubted not of the truth and certainty of it, and prayed to God to direct me in the conversion of that soul; and so with haste and good zeal, I went unto his house, where soon my joy and comfort was turned into bitterness; for when I came to the door of his house, and was with one step entred, I found all the brothers of *Pablo Fuentes*, and some others who were suspected to be Idolaters, sitting round the room; and missing *Pablo*, I withdrew my Foot a little, and asked them where he was, mistrusting somewhat to see them there all gathered together; but when I perceived that they stood not up, nor answered me a word, nor so much as took off their hats to me, then I began to fear indeed, and to suspect some treachery; and so I turned
back

back resolving to go home again. But no sooner was I turned, but behold *Pablo Fuentes* (who by his message had feigned both sickness and conversion) came from behind his house with a Cudgel in his hand, lifting it up to strike me. Had I not caught hold of his stick with both my hands, and prevented the intended blow, certainly he had struck me down. But whilst he and I were striving for the stick who should be master of it, the rest of the *Indians* who were sitting in the house, came out into the yard (which being a Publick place was more comfort to me than if they had compassed me about within the house) and beset me round, some pulling me one way, some another, tearing my cloaths in two or three places, another to make me let go my hand from the stick with a knife run me into the hand (which to this day a small scar doth witness) and certainly had we not been in a publick yard, that party had also have run his knife into my sides ; another seeing I would not let go the stick, took hold of it with *Pablo* and both together thrust it against my mouth, and with such strength that they broke some of my teeth, and filled my mouth with gore blood, with which blow I fell, but soon recovered my self and arose, they laughing at me, but not daring to do me any more harm for fear they should be seen, as God would have seen what already they had done ; for a *Mulatta* slave to a *Spaniard* in the Valley, at that very time when I was down and rising passed by, and hearing me cry out for help to the neighbours (who lived somewhat far off that might help and succour me, for all the houses thereabouts were of the brothers the *Fuentes*) came into the yard, and seeing me all in blood thought I had been mortally wounded, and calling them murderers, ran along the street crying, Murther, murther in *Pablo Fuentes* his yard, till she came to the Market-place and Town-house, where she found the Majors and Jurats sitting, and a couple of *Spaniards*, who when they heard of my danger, with drawn swords came presently running with all the officers of Justice to the yard of *Pablo Fuentes* to aid and assist me, but in the mean while the I-
dolaters

dolaters perceiving the outcry of the Mulatta, began to fall away and to hide themselves; *Pablo Fuentes* going to shut up his house also to absent himself, I held him hard to it, striving with him that he might not escape away till some help came unto me. The *Spaniards* when they came and saw me all in blood, made furiously to *Pablo Fuentes* with their naked Swords, whom I stopped desiring them not to hurt him, lest what harm they did unto him should be imputed unto me. I wished the Justice not to fear him though he were a rich *Indian*, and as they would answer before the President of *Guatemala* to lay hold of him, and to carry him to Prison, which they presently performed. I made the *Spaniards* and the Mulatta to witness under writing by way of information what they had seen, what blood about my clothes, what wound in my hand, what blow in my mouth they had found, and sent with speed to the President of *Guatemala* this their information. The business was soon noised about the valley, whereupon most of the *Spaniards* came to offer their help and aid unto me, *Miguel Dalva* also chancing to be near at a *Spaniards* house in the same valley came with the rest, who would have done that night some mischief among the *Indians* if I had not prevented them. I desired them to depart and go home to their houses, telling them I feared nothing, and that *Miguel Dalva* his company would be guard enough unto me. But they would by no means yield unto this, saying that night might prove more dangerous unto me than I imagined, and that I needed a stronger guard than of one man alone; for they conceived that the Idolaters knowing what already they had done and fearing what grievous punishment might be inflicted upon them from the President of *Guatemala*, seeing themselves lost and undone men, might desperately that night rescue their brother out of Prison, and attempt some mischief against me, and to flee away. Which I could not be brought to fear, or to believe any such thing of their cowardly spirits, nor that they should flee away, for that they had houses and land there in and about the Town, yet I was willing for

one night to yield to have a stronger Guard of *Spaniards* than at other times I had had with *Black-moor* *Miguel Dalva* alone. After Supper they kept watch about my house till such time as they perceived all was still, and the *Indians* a bed, and then they set a watch about the Prison that *Pablo Fuentes* might not be taken out; and after this (pretending that they were in danger as well as I, being but about a dozen, if the Town should all rise and mutiny by the suggestion of the Idolaters, who most of them were rich and powerful with the rest which yet I feared not) they would needs go and raise up the two Alcaldes or Maiors alone, with two more petty officers to make search about the Town for the rest of the *Fuentes* and other known Idolaters; that being found they might secure them in the Prison to appear at *Guatemala*, and prevented from doing any mischief either that night, or at any other time. With this stir which they made, and their care of me, they suffered me not to take any rest that night; but went and called up the Alcaldes and two Officers and brought them to my house, desiring me to signify unto them, how fit and necessary it was to search for the rest of the *Indians*. The poor Alcaldes trembled to see so many *Spaniards* at that time in my house with naked Swords, and durst not but do what they thought best to be done, and so from my house about midnight they walked about the Town, searching such houses as they most suspected might conceal any of the *Fuentes*, or of the rest that been that day in the rebellion and mutiny against me. They could find none at home, till at last coming to the House of one *Lorenzo Fuentes*, one of the Brothers, they found all that had been in the conspiracy against me, gathered together drinking and quaffing. The house being beset there was no flying nor escaping, and seeing the *Spaniards* naked Swords, they durst not rebel, who doubtless (as we were afterwards informed) would have made a great stir in the Town that night, and were met together to rescue *Pablo* their brother, and to do me some mischief and lie, not knowing that I was so strongly man-

ned and Guarded by the *Spaniards*. There were ten of them, and were presently without any noise in the Town carried to the Prison, and there shut up, and Guarded by the *Spaniards*.

In the morning the President of *Guatemala* (who then was *Don Juan de Guzman*; a Religious Governour) taking into his consideration what the day before I had writ unto him, and judging my danger to be great, sent a *Spanish* Alguazile, or Officer of Justice with a very large Commission to bring prisoners in the City all those *Indians* who the day before had been in rebellion against me, and in case they could not be found, then to the seize upon what Goods soever of theirs could be found in *Mixco*. But with the diligence of the *Spaniards* the night before they were all in a readines for him, and paying the Alguazile first his charges (which he demanded as he listed) and bearing the charges of *Miguel Dalva*, and two or three more *Spaniards*, who were commanded in the Kings name to be aiding and assisting the Officer for the safer carrying them to *Guatemala*, they were horsed and had away that day to the President, who committed them close Prisoners, and afterwards commanded them to be whipped about the Streets, banished two of them from *Mixco* to the Golf of *St. Thomas de Castilia*, and would have banished them all, had they not humbled themselves, and desired me to intercede for them, promising to amend their lives, and to make me great satisfaction, if they might return again to their Town, and that if ever more they did stir against me, they would yield to be hanged and to lose all their Goods. With this the President (fining them yet to pay twenty Crowns a piece to the Church to be employed in what I should think fittest) sent them back; who as they had promised, came unto me, and humbled themselves before me with much weeping, with many expressions, shewing their sorrow from their hearts for what they had done, casting all upon the Devil, whom they confessed had been great with them in tempting them, whom also now they did abjure and renounce, promising to live as good Christians,

Christians, and never more to worship any God but one. I was very much taken with their deep sorrow expressed with many tears, and endeavoured to instruct them in the true knowledge of Christ, whom now I found they were very willing to imbrace. I lived not very long after in that Town; but for the time I did continue in it, I found a great change and alteration in their lives, which truly made me apt to judge that their repentance was unfained. And these former particulars of a few *Indians* of those two Towns, I have not here inserted to bring an asperson upon all that nation, (which I do very much affect, and would willingly spend the best drops of bloud in my veins to do them good and to save their souls) but to cause rather pity and commiseration towards them, who after so many years preaching have been made as yet but formal and outward Christians, and by the many Saints of Wood, which they have been taught to worship by the Priests, have rather been inclined to the superstition and Idolatry of their Forefathers, and to trust to living Creatures, and bow to inanimate stocks and stones, which they dayly see performed publickly in their Churches. Certainly they are of a good and flexible nature, and (were those Idols of Saints Statues removed from their eyes) might be brought easily to worship one only God, and whereas they so willingly lavish out their small means and what they labour for, in offerings to their Priests and to their Saints, and in maintaining lazy singing Lubbards, they without doubt would be free enough to true Ministers of Gods Word, who should venture their lives to beat down those false Gods, and set up Jesus Christ, and him that sent him into the World to save such as truly believe in him.

The year that this stir happened in *Mexco*, I received from *Rome* from the General of the Deminicans Order, Licence to come home to *England*; at which I rejoyced much, for now I was even weary with living amongst the *Indians*, and grieved to see the little fruit I reaped amongst them, and that for fear of the Inquisition I durst not preach a new Gospel unto them, which might make them true,

real, and inward Christians; and lastly, for that I perceived that *Antonio Mendez de Satomayor*) who was Lord of the Town of *Mixco*) did stomach me for having caused two of his Town to be banished, and publicly affronted the *Fuentes* for their Idolatry, which he thought was a great aspersion laid upon his *Indians*.

All which well considered I writ unto the Provincial (who was then in *Chiapa*) of my desire to return home to mine own Country, for the which I had a Licence sent unto me from *Rome*. But he having heard of what good I had done in the Town of *Mixco* in reducing some Idolaters, burning their Idol, and venturing my Life in so good a cause; and also for the perfect knowledge which now I had of the *Poconchi* tongue, would by no means yield that I should go; but with fair and flattering words encouraged me to stay, where he doubted not, but I did, and I might yet do God much more good Service: and that he might the better work upon me, he sent me a Patent of Vicar of the Town and Cloister of *Amatitlan*, where at the present there was a new Cloister a building to separate all that valley from the Cloister of *Guatemala*. He desired me to accept of that small preferment, not doubting but that I speaking so well the *Indian* language might prevail much in that place, and better than another, to further the building of that new Cloister; which work would be a good step for him to advance me afterwards to some better preferment. Although I regarded neither that present Superiority, nor any better Honour which might afterwards ensue unto me, I thought the time which God had appointed for my returning to *England* was not yet come; for that if the Provincial, and with him the President of *Guatemala* (for so much I conjectured out of the Provincials letter) should both oppose and hinder my departure from that Country, it would be very hard for me to take my Journey any way, and not be discovered and brought back. Whereupon I resolv'd to stay the Provincials coming to *Guatemala*, and there to confer with him face to face, and to shew him some reasons that moved me to leave that Country,
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and to seek again mine own wherein I was born. So for the present I accepted of the Town of *Amatitlan*, where I had more occasions of getting Mony than in the other two, where I had lived five full years; for albeit that Town alone was bigger than both *Mixco* and *Pinola* together, and the Church fuller of Saints pictures and Statues, and very many Fraternities and Sodalities belonged unto it; besides this from without the Town I had great comings in from the Ingenio of Sugar, which as I related before stood close unto that Town, from whence I had dayly offerings from the *Black-moors* and *Spaniards* that lived in it, and besides this I had under my charge another lesser Town called *St. Christoval de Amatitlan*, standing two leagues from great *Amatitlan*. This Town of *St. Christoval*, or *St. Christopher*, is called properly in that Language, *Palinba, ha*, signifying Water, and *Pali*, to stand upright, and is compounded of two words, which express Water standing upright; for the Town standeth on the backside of the Vulcan of Water, which looketh over *Guatemala*, and on this side sendeth forth many Fountains, but especially Spouteth forth from a high rock a Stream of Water, which as it falleth from high with a great noise and down-fall, the rock standing upright over the bottom where it falleth, and causeth a most Pleasant Stream by the Towns side, it hath moved the *Indians* to call their Town, *Palinba*, from the high and upright standing rock, from whence the Water falleth. In this Town there are many rich *Indians*, who trade in the coast of the South Sea; the Town is an harbour shadowed with many Fruitful Trees; but the chief Fruit here is the Pinna, which groweth in every *Indians* yard and with the nearness of the Ingenio of Sugar, are by the *Spaniards* thereabouts much made up in Preserves, some whole, some in slices, which is the daintiest and most luscious Preserve that I ever did eat in that Country. The *Indians* of this Town get much by boards of Cedar, which they cut out of many Cedar-Trees, which grow on that side of the Vulcan, which they sell to *Guatemala* and all about the Country for new buildings.

Between great *Amatitlan* and this Town the way is plain, and lieth under a Vulcan of fire, which formerly was wont to smoak as much as that of *Guatemala*; but having formerly burst out at the top, and there opened a great mouth, and cast down to the bottom mighty stones (which to this day are to be seen) it hath not since been any ways troublesome unto the Country. In this way there was in my time new a Trapiche of Sugar erecting up by one *John Baptista* of *Guatemala*, which was thought would prove very useful, and profitable unto the foresaid City. I had yet for the time that I lived in *Amatitlan* another very little Village at my charge, called *Pampichi* at the bottom of a high mountain on the other side of the Lake over against it; which was but a Chappel of ease unto great *Amatitlan*, unto which I went not above once in a quarter of a year, and that for pastime and recreation, for this Village is well in that Language a compound also of *Pam*, in, and *Pichi* flowers, for that it standeth compassed about with flowers which make it very pleasant, and the boats or Cano's which do constantly stand near the doors of the houses, invite to much pleasure of fishing and rowing about the Lake.

And thus whilst I lived in *Amatitlan* I had the choice of three places wherein to recreate my self, and because the charge of many souls lay in my hands, I had one constantly to help me. The Town of *Amatitlan* was as the Court in respect of the rest, where nothing was wanting that might recreate the mind and satisfy the Body with variety and change of substance, both for Fish and Flesh. Yet the great care that did lie upon me in the work and building of the Cloister, made me very soon weary of living in that great and pleasant Town; for sometimes I had thirty, sometimes twenty, sometimes fewer, and sometimes forty work men to look unto, and to pay wages to on Saturday nights, which I found wearied much my brain, and hindered my studies, and was besides a work which I delighted not in, nor had any hopes ever to enjoy it. And therefore after the first year that I had been there I betook my self to
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the Provincial, who was in *Guatemala*, and again earnestly besought him to peruse the Licence which I had from *Rome* to go to *England* mine own Country for to preach there (for that was the chief ground of letting me go home, as the General largely expressed) where I doubted not but I might do God great service, and in Conscience I told him I thought I was bound to employ what parts God had bestowed upon me, rather upon my own Countrymen, than upon *Indians* and strangers. The Provincial replied unto me that my Contrymen were Hereticks, and when I came amongst them they would hang me up, I told them, I hoped better things of them, and that I would not behave my self amongst them so as to deserve hanging: not daring to tell him what was in my heart concerning points of Religion. After a long discourse I found the Provincial inexorable, and half angry, telling me that he and that whole province had cast their eyes upon me, and honoured me, and were ready and willing to promote me further, and that I would shew my self very ungrateful unto them, if I should forsake them for my own nation and people, whom I had not known from my young and tender age. I perceived there was no more to be said, and all would be in vain, and so resolv'd to take my best opportunity, and with my Licence from *Rome* to come away unknown unto him. But for the present I humbly beseeched him to remove me from *Amatitlan*, for that I found my self unable to undergo that great charge, and too weak for that strong work, that war then building. With much ado he would be brought to this, alledging what an Honour it was to be a Founder and builder of a new Cloister, in whose walls my very name would be engraved to posterity, all which I told him I regarded not, but esteemed more of my health and a quiet mind, than of such preferments and vanities. Upon which at last he condescended to my request, and gave me order go to *Petapa*, and that the Vicar of *Petapa* should go to finish the work of *Amatitlan*. In *Petapa* I lived above a twelve month, with great ease, pleasure and content for all things

Wordly and outward; but within I had still a worm of Conscience, gnawing this gourd that shadowed and delighted me with wordly contentment. Here I grew more and more troubled concerning some points of Religion, dayly wishing with *David*, that I had the wings of a Dove, that I might flie from that place of dayly Idolatry into *England*, and be at rest. I resolv'd therefore to put on a good courage, and relie wholly upon my God, knowing that the Journey was hard and dangerous, and might bring shame and trouble unto me, if I should be taken in the way flying and brought back to *Guatemala*; here I weighed the affliction and reproach which might ensue unto me, after so much Honour, pleasure, and wealth which I had enjoyed for about twelve years in that Country; but in another balance of better consideration, I weighed the trouble of a wounded Conscience, and the spiritual joy and comfort that I might enjoy at home with the people of God, and so resolutely concluded upon that place of *Heb. 11. 25. 26. 27.* with *Moses*, to choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God (who as *Paul* well observeth, *1 Thess. 3. 3.* are appointed thereunto; and again *Phil. 1. 29.* unto whom it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake) than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in *Egypt*. So for faith and a safe conscience I now purposed likewise with *Moses* to forsake *Egypt*, not fearing the wrath of the President the Kings own Deputy, nor of the Provincial and my best friends; but to indure all this (if I should be taken) as seeing him who is invisible. I thought this was a business not to be conferred with flesh and blood, lest the best friend knowing of it should betray me; yet on the other side, I thought it hard to flie alone without some friends for the first two or three days Journey; and besides having many things to sell away to make Mony of, I thought I were better to imploy some trusty friend, than to do all alone. I thought of none fitter than *Miguel Dalva*, whom by long experience I knew to be true and trusty, and
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that a small money matter would content him; whom I sent for to *Pinola*, and charging him with secrecy, I told him I had a Journey for my conscience sake to make to *Rome* (I would not tell him that I intended *England*, lest the good old *Black-moor* should grieve, thinking never more to see me, and for the love he bore me, and interest he had many times from me, he should by discovering my intent, seek to stop me) which I would have none to know of but himself, not doubting but return again, as he knew many had taken the like Journey, and returned within two years.

The *Black-moor* offered himself to go with me, which I refused, telling him that the seas would be too hard for his old age to endure, and that as a *Black-moor* in forain Countries he might be stopped and apprehended for a fugitive; which reason he liked well, and offered himself to go with me as far as the sea side; for which I thanked him and employed to sell me away some Mules, Wheat and Maiz which I had, and what else might pass through his hands. As for many rich pictures which hung in my Chamber, I thought the Town of *Petapa* would buy them for their Church, and propounded it unto the Governour, who willingly accepted of them. Most of my books, chests, cabinets, quilts, and many good pieces of household stuff by the pains and industry of *Miguel* (whom I kept with me for the space of two Months before I came away) I sold to *Guatemala*, reserving only two *Petaca's* or leathern chests, with some books and a quilt for my Journey. When I had sold all that I intended, I found I had in *Spanish* money near 9000 pieces of Eight, which I had got in twelve years that I lived in that Countrey. So much Money I thought would be too cumbersome for a long Journey, whereupon I turned above four thousand of them into pearls and some precious stones, which might make my carriage the lighter; the rest I laid up in bags, some I sowed into my quilt, intending in the way to turn them into *Spanish* Pistols. Thus the chief provision being made of Money, I took care for Chocolate and some Conserves, for the way, which were soon provided. Now because I considered that my flight the first week must
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be with speed, and that my chests could not post day and night as my self intended to do; I thought of sending my carriage four days at least before me; and not daring to trust any *Indian* of *Petapa*, I sent to *Mixco* for one special *Indian* friend whom I had there, who knew the way that I was to travel very well; to whom I opened my mind, and offered him what money I knew would content him, and at midnight sent him away with two Mules, one for himself, and another for my chests, wishing him to keep on travelling towards *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua* till I gave him the advantage of four days and nights, and then resolutely with my good *Black moor* in my company, leaving the key of my chamber in my door, and nothing but old papers within, when all the *Indians* were fast asleep, I bad adieu unto *Petapa*, and to the whole Vally, and to all my friends throughout *America*.

C H A P. XXI.

Shewing my journey from the Town of Petapa, into England, and some chief passages in the way.

THe chief thing which troubled me in my resolv'd purpose to come home, was the choice of the safest way; which made me utterly forsake the Gulf (though the easiest way of all, and that Sea nearest to the place where I lived) for that I knew I should meet there with many of my acquaintance, and the setting out of the ships was so uncertain, that before they departed, order might come from *Guatemala* to stop me; if I should go by land through *Comayagua* or *Truxillo*, and there wait for the ships, likewise I feared lest the Governour of that place by some item from the President of *Guatemala* might examine me, and send me back, and that the Masters of the ships might have charge given them not to receive me
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into their ships. If I should go back to *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, then I called to mind, how I was troubled in that long Journey, when I came first to *Chiapa* in company of friends, and that now alone I should certainly be much put to it, for I would carry *Miguel Dalva* so far by land with me. Wherefore rejecting these three ways, I chose the fourth, which was by *Nicaragua* and the Lake of *Granada*; and therefore I deferred my Journey till the week after *Christmas*, knowing that the time of the Frigats setting out from that lake to the *Havana* was commonly after the middle of *January*, or at *Candlemas* at the furthest, whither I hoped to reach in very good time. Now that I might by no means be suspected to have taken this way; before I went I left by the hand of *Miguel Dalva* a letter to a friend of his to be delivered to the Provincial in *Guatemala*, four days after my departure, wherein I kindly took my leave of him desiring him not to blame me nor to seek after me; and whereas I had a sufficient Licence from *Rome*, and could not get his, that I thought I might with a safe Conscience go where I was born, leaving Linguists enough to supply my place amongst the *Indians*. And because he should not make enquiry after me by *Nicaragua*, I dated and subscribed my letter to him from the Town of *St. Antonio Suchutepeques*, which was the way to *Mexico* and quite contrary to *Nicaragua*.

The next day after *Twelfth* day, being the seventh of *January*, 1637. at midnight I set out of *Petapa* upon a lusty Mule (which afterwards in the way I sold for fourscore pieces of Eight) with *Miguel Dalva* alone; and the first part of the way being very hilly we could not go so fast as our hearts would have posted; for it was break of day before we could get to the top of the Mountain, which is called *Serro Redondo*, or the round hill; which is much mentioned in that Country, for the good pasture there which serveth for the Cattel and Sheep, when the valleys below are burnt and no grasing left for Beasts. This hill is also a great refuge to Travellers, for there they find good entertainment in a *Venta*, where wine and Provision is sold, and
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is a great Lodge, for to lay up dry what carriages they bring; there is besides one of the best Estancia's or Farms of Cattell in the Countrey, where of Goats and Ewes milk is made the best cheese thereabouts. This round hill or mountain is five leagues from *Petapa*, where I feared I might meet with some people of *Petapa*, and therefore the day now dawning I made hast by it, leaving in the lodge asleep many *Indians*, who attended on two *Spanish* Requa's of Mules, which that day were to go to *Petapa*; four leagues further from this *Serro Redondo* is a Town of *Indians* called *Los Esclavos*, or the Slaves, not that now they are more slaves than the rest of the *Indians*, but because in the old time of *Montezuma* the Emperour, and the *Indian* Kings that were under him, the people of this Town were more slaves than any other, for from *Amatitlan* (which is so called from *Amat*, which in the *Mexican* tongue signifieth Letter, and *Itlan* which signifieth Town, for that it was the Town of Letters as some say, for a rind of a tree, whereon they were wont formerly to write and expresse their minds, or because it was the place whither from all parts letters were sent to be carried about the Countrey, and to *Peru*) these *Indians* of the Town of *Esclavo's* or slaves, were commanded as slaves to go all about the Countrey with letters or whatsoever else they should be charged with; and they were bound constantly to send every week so many of their Town (as were appointed) unto *Amatitlan*, there to wait and attend the pleasure of that Town for the conveying of letters, or any carriages to other parts.

This Town of *los Esclavos* standeth in a bottom by a river, over the which the *Spaniards* have built a very strong stone Bridge to go in and out of the Town, for otherwise with Mules there is no passing by reason of the violent and rapid Stream of the Water, and many rocks in the River, from which the water falleth down with great force. From this Town (where we only stay'd to drink a cup of Chocolate and to bait our Mules) we went on that day to *Aguachapa*, being ten leagues further, and not far from the South Sea and the Port called *De la Trinidad*; whither we

we came towards evening, having that day and part of the night travelled about threescore *English* miles up hills and upon stony wayes from the *Esclavo's* unto this Town; which is much mentioned in that Country for two things. The one is for the earthen ware which is made there (as some think) exceeding that of *Mixco*. The other is for a place within a Mile and a half from the Town, which the *Spaniards* do credibly report and believe to be a mouth of hell. For out of it there is constantly ascending a thick black smoak smelling of Brimstone, with some flashes now and then of fire; the earth from whence this smoak ariseth is not high, but low. None ever durst draw nigh to find out the truth and ground of it; for those that have attempted to do it, have been stricken down to the ground and like to lose their lives. A friend of mine a Fryer (whom I thought verily I might believe) upon his oath affirmed unto me, that travelling that way with a Provincial he resolv'd to go unto the place, and satisfie himself of the ground and cause of the strange talk which was every where about the Country concerning that smoak. He went within a quarter of a mile of it, and presently, he said, he heard a hideous noise, which together with the stench of the fiery smoak and brimstone, struck him into such a fear that he was like to fall to the ground, and retiring himself with all speed was taken with a burning feaver, which was like to cost him his life. Others report that drawing near unto it, they have heard great cries as it were of men and women in torment, noise of iron, of chains, and the like, which (how simply I leave it to my Judicious Reader) maketh them believe that it is a mouth of hell. Of my knowledge I will say no more, but that I saw the smoak, and asked the *Indians* what was the cause of it; and if ever they had been near unto it? And they answered me, that they could not imagine what might be the cause of it, neither durst they draw nigh unto it; and that they had seen Travellers, attempting to go near it, and that they were all stricken either to the ground, or with some suddain amazement, or a fever. I told them that I would walk thither my self, and they desired

me that I would not, if I loved my Life. It was not yet for all this report the fear of being so near the *Spaniards* hell (as they call it) that made me haste with speed out of that Town, but fear of some messengers that might come after me to stop my Journey. For at midnight I departed from thence, and went to break my fast to a great Town called *Chalcnapan*, where the *Indians* made very much of me, being *Pocomanes*, who spake the *Poconchi* or *Pocoman* tongue which I had learned. They would willingly have had me to stay with them and preach unto them the next Sabbath, which I would have done, had not a better design called upon me to make haste.

Here I was troubled, how I should get through *St. Salvador*, which was a City of *Spaniards*, and wherein there was a Cloister of Dominicans, whom I feared most of all, because I was known by some of them. My resolution was therefore when I came near unto the City, to turn out of my way to a *Spaniards* Farm, as if I had lost my way, and there to delay the time till evening in drinking Chocolate, discoursing, and baiting my mules well, that so I might travel all that night, and be out of the reach of that City and Fryers (who lived in *Indian* Towns about it) the next morning, early. This City of *S. Salvador* is poor, not much bigger then *Chiapa*, and is governed by a *Spanish* Governour. It standeth forty leagues at least from *Guatemala*, and towards the North-Sea side, is compassed with very high mountains, which are called *Chuntales*, where the *Indians* are very poor. In the bottom where the City standeth there are some *Trapiches* of Sugar, some *Indigo* made, but the chief Farms are *Estancia's* of Cattel. Toward Evening I departed from that Farm, where I had well refreshed my self and my Mule, and about eight of the clock I rid through the City not being known by any body. My purpose was to be next morning at a great River, called *Rio de Lempa*, some ten leagues from *St. Salvador* within two leagues of it there lived in an *Indian* Town a Fryer belonging to the Cloister of *St. Salvador* who knew me very well. But such haste I made, that before break of the day I passed through

through that Town, and before seven of the clock I was at the River, where I found my *Indian* of *Mixco* ready to pass over with my carriage, who that morning by three of the clock had set out of that Town two leagues off. I was not a little glad to have overtaken my Chests, wherein was most of my treasure. There I sat down a while by the River whilst my mules grazed, and my *Indian* struck fire and made me Chocolate. This River of *Lempa* is held the broadest, and biggest in all the Jurisdiction belonging unto *Guatemala*; there are constantly two ferry Boats to pass over the Travellers, and their *Requa's* of Mules. This River is privileged in this manner, that if a man commit any hainous crime or murther on this side of *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, or on the other side of *St. Miguel*, or *Nicaragua*, if he can flie to get over this River, he is free as long as he liveth on the other side, and no Justice on that side whither he is escaped can question or trouble him for the murther committed. So likewise for Debts he cannot be arrested. Though I thanked God I neither fled for the one, or for the other, yet it was my comfort that I was now going over to a priviledged Country, where I hoped I should be free and sure, and that if any one did come after me, he would go no further than to the River of *Lempa*. My Blackmoor did much laugh at this my conceipt, and warranted me that all would do well. We ferried safely over the River; and from thence went in company with my *Indians* two leagues off, where we made the best dinner that we had done from the Town of *Petapa*, and willingly gave rest to all our mules till four of the clock in the afternoon; at which time we set forth to another small Town little above two leagues off, through a plain, sandy and Champain Country. The next day we had but ten leagues to travel to a Town called *St. Miguel*, which belongeth unto *Spaniards* and though it be not a City, yet it is as big almost as *San Salvador*, and hath a *Spanish* Governour; in it there is one Cloister of Nuns, and another of Mercenarian Fryers, who welcomed me unto their Cloister; for here I began to shew my face, and to think

think of selling away the Mule I rid on, being resolv'd from hence to go by water or an Arm of the Sea, to a Town in *Nicaragua* called *La Vieja*. I would here have dismissed my *Indian*, but he was loth to leave me until I got to *Granada*, where he desired to see me shipped. I refused not his kind Offer, because I knew he was trusty and had brought my Chests well thither, and knew well the way to *Granada*. So I sent him by land to *Realejo*, or to *La Vieja*, which stand very near together, and thirty leagues by land from *St. Miguel*, and my self stay'd that day and till the next day at noon in that Town, where I sold the Mule I rid on, because I knew that from *Realejo* to *Granada* I could have of the *Indians* a Mule for nothing for a days Journey. My *Black-moors* Mule I sent also by land with the *Indian*, and the next day went to the Gulf, being three or four miles from *St. Miguel*, where that afternoon I took Boat with many other passengers, and the next morning by eight in the morning was at *La Vieja*, which Journey by land would have taken me up near three days. The next day my *Indian* came at night, and we went to *Realejo*, (as I have observed before) a Haven very weak and unfortified on the South Sea; where if I would have stay'd one fortnight I might have taken shipping for *Panama*, to go from thence to *Portobello*, and there stay for the Galeons from *Spain*. But I considered that the Galeons would not be there till *June* or *July*, and that so I should be at great charges in staying so long. But afterwards I wished I had accepted of that occasion, for I was at last forced to go to *Panama*, and *Portobello*. From hence to *Granada* I observed nothing, but the plainness and pleasantness of the way, which with the Fruits and fertility of all things may well make *Nicaragua* the Paradise of *America*. Between *Realejo* and *Granada* standeth the City of *Leon*, near unto a *Vulcan* of fire, which formerly burst out at the top, and did much hurt unto all the Countrey about; but since that it hath ceased, and now letteth the Inhabitans, live without fear. Sometime it Smoaks a little, which sheweth that as yet there is within some sulphurous substance.

Here

Here it was that a Mercenarian Fryer thought to have discovered some great Treasure, which might enrich himself and all that Country, being fully persuaded that the Metal that burnt within that *Vulcan* was Gold; whereupon he caused a great Kettle to be made, and hung at an iron chain to let it down from the top, thinking therewith to take up Gold enough to make him Bishop and to enrich his poor Kindred. But such was the Power and Strength of the fire within that no sooner had he let down the Kettle, when it fell from the Chain and from his Hands, being melted away.

This City of *Leon* is very curiously built, for the chief Delight of the Inhabitants consists in their Houses, and in the Pleasure of the Country adjoining, and in the Abundance of all things for the Life of Man, more than in extraordinary Riches, which there are not so much enjoyed, as in other parts of *America*. They are content with fine Gardens, with variety of singing Birds, and Parrets, with plenty of Fish and Flesh, which is cheap, and with gay Houses, and so lead a delicious, lasie and idle Life; not aspiring much to Trade and Traffique, tho they have near them the Lake, which commonly every year sends forth some Frigats to the *Havana* by the North Sea, and *Realejo* on the South sea, which might be very commodious for any dealing and rich trading in *Peru*, or to *Misco*, if their Spirits would carry them so far: The Gentlemen of this City are almost as vain and phantastical as are those of *Chiapa*: especially from the Pleasure of this City, is all that Province of *Nicaragua*, called by the Spaniards, *Mahomet's Paradise*. Hence the way is plain and level to *Granada*, whither I got safely and joyfully, hoping that now I had no more journies to make by Land, till I should land at *Dover* in *England*, and from thence post up to *London*. Two days after I had arriv'd at this place and rested my self, and enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the Lake, I began to think of dismissing my *Indian* and *Blackmoor*. But true and faithful *Miguel Delva* would by no means leave me,

till he saw me shipt; and that I had no more need of him by Land; Likewise the *Indian* would willingly have stay'd, but by no means I would permit him, for that I consider'd he had a Wife and Children at home: He was as willing to return a foot, as to ride, because he would have me sell my Mules, and make what Money I could of them; but I seeing the good nature of the *Indian*, would recompence his Love with as much Money as might be more beneficial to him, than a tired Mule; which might have dyed in the way, and left him on foot; so I gave him Money enough to bear his Charges home, and to hire Mules at his pleasure, and some to spare when he came home. The *Indian* with many tears falling from his eyes, saying he fear'd he should never more see me, took his leave of me the third day after we arriv'd at *Granada*. My Blackmoor and I being left alone, first began to think of selling away the two Mules, which had brought thither the *Indian*, and my Chests; for which I got 90 Pieces of Eight after so long a journey, and thought they were well sold. I would have had *Miguel* have sold away that whereon he rid, (which was his own) and offer'd to buy him another that might better carry him back, but the loving and careful Blackmoor would not suffer me to be at such Charges, considering the long Journey I was to make. After this we hearing that the Frigats were not like to depart in a fortnight, thought of viewing well that stately and pleasant Town a day or two, and then to betake our selves to some near *Indian* Town, where we might be hid, (left by the great resort of *Requa's* of Mules which then brought Indigo and Cochinil from *Guatemala* to the Frigats, we should be discover'd) and might now and then come to the Town to treat concerning my passing in one of the Frigats to the *Havana* or *Carthagera*. What in that Town we observed was, two Cloisters of *Mercenarian* and *Franciscan* Fryers, and one of the Nuns, very rich; and one Parish-Church, which was as a Cathedral; for the Bishop of *Leon* did more constantly reside there than in the City.

The

The houses are fairer than those of *Leon*, and the Town of more Inhabitants, amongst whom there are some few Merchants of very great wealth, and many of inferior degree very well to pass, who trade with *Carthagena*, *Guatemala*, *San Salvador* and *Comayagua*, and some by the South Sea, to *Peru* and *Panama*. But at this time of the sending away the Frigats, that Town is one of the wealthiest in all the North of *America*; for the Merchants of *Guatemala* fearing to send all their goods by the Gulf of *Honduras*, for that they have been often taken by the *Hollanders* between that and *Havana*, think it safer to send them by the Frigats to *Carthagena*, which passage has not been so much stopt by the *Hollanders* as the other. So likewise many times the Kings Treasure, and Revenue (when there is any Report of Ships at Sea, or about the Cape of *S. Antony*) are this way by the Lake of *Granada* past to *Carthagena*. That year I was there, before I betook my self to an *Indian Town*, in one day there entred six *Requa's* (which were at least three hundred Mules) from *St. Salvador* and *Comayagua* only, laden with nothing but Indigo, Cochinil and Hides; and two days after from *Guatemala* came in three more, one laden with silver (which was the Kings tribute from that Countrey) the other with Sugar, and the other with Indigo. The former *Requa's* I feared not; but the latter made me keep close in my lodging, lest going abroad, I should be known by some of those that came from *Guatemala*; who after they had deliver'd what they brought, presently departed, and with their departure set me at liberty, who for their sakes was a voluntary Prisoner in mine own lodging. But fearing lest more of these *Requa's* might come and affright me, I went to a Town out of the road, a league from *Granada*, and took my pleasure up and down the Country where I was much feasted by the *Mercenarian Fryers*, who enjoy most of those Towns. Among these I heard much of the passage in the Frigats to *Carthagena*, which a little dishearten'd and discourag'd me. For

though, whilst they sail on the Lake, they go securely and without trouble, yet when they fall from the Lake to the River (which they call *El Desaguadero*) to go out to Sea, *hic labor, hoc opus est*, here is nothing but trouble, which sometimes makes that short Voyage to last two months; for such is the fall of the Waters in many Places among the Rocks, that many times they are forc'd to unlade the Frigats, and lade them again with help of Mules kept there for that purpose, by a few *Indians* that live about the River, and have care of the Lodges made to lay in the Wares, whilst the Frigats pass through those dangerous places to another Lodge, whither the Wares are brought by Mules, and put again into the Frigats. Besides this Trouble (which must needs be tedious to a Passenger, to be thus stopt, who would willingly come soon to his Journeys end) the abundance of Gnats is such, as makes him take no Joy in his Voyage, and the Heat in some places so intolerable, that many die before they get out to Sea. Tho all this was terrible to me to hear, yet I comforted my self that my Life was in the hands of the Lord, and that the Frigats commonly every year past that way, and seldom any were lost. I went now and then to *Granada* to bargain for my Passage, and to know when the Frigats would certainly set out, and to provide my self of some Dainties and Chocolat for my Journey, having agreed with a Master of a frigate for Diet at his Table. The Time was appointed within four or five days; but suddenly all was cross'd with a strict command from *Guatemala*, that the Frigats should not go out that year, because the President and whole Court was informed for certain, that some *English* or *Holland* Ships were abroad at Sea, and lay about the mouth of the River *Desaguadero* waiting for the Frigats of *Granada*, and that the said Ships were sometimes lurking about the Islands of *S. John* and *S. Catharine* (which then was our *Providence*) which made all the Merchants of the Country fear and sweat with a cold sweat, and the President

dent to be careful for the Kings Revenues, lest the loss of them should be imputed to his Negligence, in not stopping the Frigats, whilst he might, and had Warning. This was but sad News to me, who knew not for the present, which way to dispose of my self. I began to think of the Ship that was at *Realejo* ready to set out to *Panama*, thinking that would now be my best course, but enquiring after it, I was for certain inform'd by some Merchants that it was newly gone. Then my eyes look'd upon *Comayagua* and *Truxillo*, and on the ships of *Honduras*, but these were but vain and troubl'd thoughts, arising from a perplext heart, for the Ships were also gone thence, without some small Vessel or Frigate might be there with News from *Havana* or *Carthagena* (for those Places send often Notice of what Ships are abroad at Sea) but this also was a meer Chance, and not to be trusted to, as my Friends did advise me. Whereupon my perplexity more and more increased, only my Comfort was that there were more Passengers besides my self, who I knew must take some course, and whom I also resolv'd to follow by Sea or Land. Among us all we were once resolv'd to hire a Frigate to carry us only to *Carthagena*, but this would not be granted, for nobody would hazard his Vessel and Life for our sakes. While we were thus distressed and perplext enquiring about *Granada* of the Merchants what course we might take to get to *Spain* that year, or to meet with the *Havana* or *Carthagena*; one that wish'd us well, counsel'd us to go to *Costarica*, where at *Carthago* we should be sure to hear of some Vessels bound for *Portobel*, either from the River *de los Anzuolos*, or from the River call'd *Suere*, whence every year went out some small Frigats to carry Meal, Bacon, Fowls, and other provision for the Galeons to *Portobel*. This we thought was a difficult Journey, and of near a hundred and fifty leagues over Mountains and throught Deserts, where we should miss the pleasure, Variety, and Dainties of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, and after all this peradventure

might miss of an opportunity of any Frigate bound to *Portobello*, yet so unwilling were we all to return to *Guatemala* whence we came, that we would rather go forward, and undergo any Difficulties, so that at last we might find any Shipping to convey us where we might meet the Galeons, which we knew were not to come to *Portobel*, till *June* or *July*. We therefore agreed four of us, three *Spaniards* and my self, to go to *Costarica*, and there try our Fortune. They had each of them (as my self had) Carriage for one Mule, and none to ride on; but thought best to buy each of them a Mule to carry them, which they hop'd after their Journey to sell again at *Costarica*, and to get Money by them, and for their Carriages to hire Mules and *Indians* from Town to Town, who also might serve to guide us through many dangerous Places and passages, which we understood were in the way. Now I wish'd I had my Mule which I sold at *San Miguel*, or any one of the two which I sold before in *Granada*. But for my Money I doubted not, with the help of the *Blackmoor*, but I should find one for my purpose. I furnisht my self very speedily, for fifty pieces of eight, of one which I fear'd not would perform my Journey. My good and trusty *Blackmoor* would willingly have gone on with me, and further round the World, if I would have let him; but I would not; but, thank'd him heartily for what he had done, and gave him Money enough in his Purse and dismissed him, hoping the Company of the three *Spaniards* would be sufficient Comfort to me.

Thus with one *Indian* to guide us we set four of us out of *Granada*, enjoying for the two first days more of the Pleasure of that *Mahomet's Paradise, Nicaragua*, finding the way for the most part plain, the Towns pleatant, the Countrey shady, and every where Fruits abounding. The second day after we set out, we were much affrighted with a huge and monstrous Caiman or Crocodile, which having come out of the Lake (as we passed by) and lying cross a puddle of Water bathing himself, and waiting for

for some prey, as we perceiv'd after, whom we not knowing well at first, but thinking it had been some tree that was fell'd or fallen, pass'd close by it; when on a suddain we knew the Scales of the Caiman, and saw the Monster move, and set himself against us; where-with we made hast from him; but he thinking to have made some of us his greedy Prey, ran after us, which when we perceiv'd, and that he was like to overtake us, we were much troubl'd, till one of the *Spaniards*, (who knew better the Nature and Quality of that Beast than the rest) call'd us to turn to one side out of the way, and to ride on strait for a while, and then to turn on another side, and so to Circumflex our way; which Advice of his without doubt saved mine, or some of the others Lives, for thus we wearied that mighty Monster and escaped from him, who (had we rid out straightway) had certainly overtaken us, and killed some Mule or Man, for his straight forward flight was as swift as our Mules could run; but whilst he turn'd and wheel'd about his heavy body, we got ground and advantage till we left him far behind us. And by this Experience we came to know the Nature and Quality of that Beast, whose greatness of Body is no hindrance to run forward as swift as a Mule; but otherwise, as the Elephant once laid down is troubl'd to get up, so this Monster is heavy and stiff, and therefore much troubl'd to turn and wind about his Body. We praised God who had that day deliver'd us, and riding a while by that side of the Lake, we were watchful that we might not fall again into like Danger. But the greatness of this Lake of *Granada* may from hence be known, in that the second and third day of our Journey, being at least threescore miles from whence we set out, we now and then found our Way lying by it. After we had wholly lost sight of it, we enter'd into rough and craggy Ways, declining more to the South than to the North-Sea. And in all the rest of our Journey to *Carthago*, we observ'd nothing worth committing to posterity, but only mighty Woods and Trees on the South-

Sea-side, very fit to make strong Ships, and many Mountains and desert places, where we lay sometimes two nights together, in Woods or open Fields, far from any Town or Habitation of *Indians*; yet for our Comfort in these so desert places we had still a Guide with us, and found lodges, which by the command of the next Justices had been set up for such as travell'd that way. We came at last through thousand dangers to *Carthago*, which we found not to be so poor, as in richer places, as *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua* it was reported to be. For there we had occasion to inquire after Merchants for Exchange of Gold and Silver, and we found some were very rich, who traded by Land and Sea with *Panama*, and by Sea with *Portobello*, *Carthagena*, and *Havana*, and from thence with *Spain*. This City may consist of four hundred Families, govern'd by a *Spanish* Governour; It is a Bishops See, and has in it three Cloisters, two of Fryers, and one of Nuns. Here we enquired after that which had brought us through so many Mountains' Woods, and Deserts, to wit, after some speedy occasion of shipping our selves for *Portobello* or *Carthagena*; and according to our desires we understood of a Frigate almost ready to set out from the River *De los Anzuelos*, and another from the River *Suere*; and being well informed that *Suere* would be the best place to travel to by reason of more provision in the way, more Towns of *Indians*, and Estancia's of *Spaniards*, we resolv'd four days after we had rested in *Carthago*, to undertake a new Journey toward the North Sea. We found that Country mountainous in many places, yet here and there some Vallies where was very good Corn, *Spaniards* living in good Farms, who as well as the *Indians* bred many Hogs; but the Towns of *Indians* we found much unlike to those which we had left behind in *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*; and the people in Courtesie and Civility much differing from them, and of a rude and bold Carriage and Behaviour; yet they are kept under by the *Spaniards*, as much as those whom I have formerly spoken of about

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about *Guatemala*. We came in so good a time to the River *Suere*, that we stay'd there but three days in a *Spanish* Farm near it, and departed.

The Master of the Frigat was exceeding glad of our Company, and offer'd to carry me for nothing, but for my Prayers to God for him, and for a safe Passage; which he hop'd would not be above three or four days sailing. He carryed nothing but some Hony, Hides, Bacon, Meal and Fowls. The greatest Danger he told us of, was the setting out from the River, (which runs in some places with a very strong Stream, is shallow and full of Rocks in other places) till we come forth to the main Sea; Whither we got out safely and had not sail'd on above 20 leagues, when we discover'd two ships making toward us; our hearts began to quake, and the Master himself of the Frigat we perceiv'd was not without fear suspecting they were *English* or *Holland* ships; we had no Guns nor Weapons, save only four or five Muskets and half a dozen Swords; we thought the Wings of our nimble Frigat might be our best Comfort, and flying away our chief Safety. But this Comfort soon began to fail us, and our best Safety was turn'd into near approaching Danger: before we could flie five Leagues toward *Portobel*, we could from our Top-Mast easily perceive the two ships to be *Hollanders*, and too nimble for our little Vessel, which presently one of them (which being a Man-of War, was too much and too strong for our Weakness) secht up, and with a thundring Message made us strike Sail. Without any fighting we durst not but yield, hoping for better Mercy. But O what sad thoughts did here run in my dejected heart, which was struck down lower than our Sail? How did I sometimes look on Deaths frightening visage? But if again I would comfort and incourage my self against this fear of Death; how then did I begin to see an end of all my hopes of ever returning to my wish'd and desir'd Countrey? How did I see my Treasure of Pearls, pretious Stones, and pieces of Eight, and Golden Pistols, which by
Singing

Singing I had got in twelve years, now within one half hour ready to be lost with Weeping, and became a Prey to those who with as much Ease as I got them, and with Laughing were ready to spoil me of all that with the sound of Flutes, Waits and Organs I had so long been hording up? Now I saw I must forcedly and fainedly offer up to a *Hollander* what superstitious, yea also forced and fained offerings of *Indians* to their Saints of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Amatitlan* and *Patapa* had for a while enriched me. My further thoughts were soon interrupted by the *Hollanders* who came aboard our Frigat with more speed than we desir'd. Though their Swords, Muskets and Pistols did not a little terrifie, yet we were somewhat comforted, when we understood who was their chief Captain and Commander, and hop'd, for more Mercy from him, who had been born and brought up among *Spaniards*, than from the *Hollanders* who as they were little bound to the *Spanish* Nation for Mercy, so we expected little from them. The Captain of this *Holland* Ship which took us was a Mulatto, born and bred in *Havana*, whose Mother I saw and spoke with afterwards that same year, when the Galeons struck into that Port to expect there the rest from *Vera Cruz*. This Mulatto for some Wrongs which had been offer'd him from some commanding *Spaniards* in the *Havana*, ventur'd himself desperately in a Boat out to the Sea, where some *Holland* Ships waited for a prize, and with Gods help getting to them, yielded himself to their Mercy, which he esteem'd far better than that of his own Countreymen, promising to serve them faithfully against his own Nation, which had most injuriously abused, yea and (as I was afterwards informed) whipt him in the *Havana*.

This Mulatto proved so true and faithful in his good services to the *Hollanders*, that they esteemed much of him, married him to one of their Nation, made him Captain of a Ship under that brave and Gallant *Hollander* whom the *Spaniards* then so much fear'd, nam'd, *Pie de Palo*, or Wooden Leg. This famous Mulatto it was that

that with his Sea-Soldiers boarded our Frigat, in which he had found little worth his labour, had it not been for the *Indians* Offerings which I carried, of which I lost that day the worth of 4000 Patacons or Pieces of Eight in Pearls and pretious Stones, and near 3000 more in Mony. The other *Spaniards* lost some hundreds apiece, which was so rich a prize, that it made the *Hollanders* Stomach loath the rest of our gross Provision of Bacon, Meal and Fowls, and our Mony tasted sweeter to them, than the Honey which our Frigat also afforded. Other things I had (as a Quilt to lie on, some Books, and *Lamina's*, which are Pictures in Brass, and Cloaths) which I beg'd of that Noble Captain the Mulatto, who Considering my Orders and Calling, gave me them freely, and wish'd me to be patient, saying that he could do no otherwise than he did with my mony and Pearls, and using that common Proverb at Sea, *Oy per mi, manana per ti*, to day Fortune hath been for me, to morrow it may be for thee: or to say, I have got what to morrow I may lose again. Here I made use also of that common Saying, that ill-gotten Goods never thrive; and perceived it was the will of my heavenly Father to take from me what unlawfully by superstitious and idolatrous Masses, by Offerings to Idols and Statues of Saints I had got among the *Indians*. I offered in lieu of those former Offerings my Will to my Lord Gods Will, desiring him to grant me Patience to bear that great Loss. I confess, tho it was very cross to Flesh and Blood, yet I found an inward Spiritual strengthening from above, and to be very true what *Paul* writes to the *Hebrews* Chap. 12. 11. saying, *No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby*: for that very day I found my inward man quiet and peaceable with a full and total Submission to the holy Will of God, which I desir'd might be done in Earth, in the Sea, and perform'd and obey'd by me at that present, as it is always done in Heaven. And though this way was my best and chief

Comfort,

Comfort, yet from the Creature, by the Creators permission, I had also some Comfort left in a few Pistols, some single, some double, which I had sow'd up in my Quilt (which the Captain restor'd to me, saying it was the Bed I lay in) and in the Doublet which I had at that present, which mounted to almost 1000 Crowns, and in their searching was not found. After the Captain and Soldiers had well view'd their Prize, they thought of refreshing their Stomachs with some of our Provision, the Good Captain made a stately dinner in our Frigat, and invited me to it, and knowing I was going towards *Havana*, besides many other *brindi's* or healths, he drank one to his Mother, desiring me to see her, and remember him to her, and say, that for her sake he had us'd me well and courteously in what he could ; and further at Table he said, for my sake he would give us our Frigat that we might return to Land, and that I might find from thence some safer way and means to get to *Portobello*, and to continue my Journey to *Spain*. After dinner I conferr'd with the Captain alone, and told him, I was no *Spaniard*, but an *English* man born, shewing him the Licence, which I had from *Rome* to go to *England*, and that therefore I hop'd, not being of an Enemy-Nation to the *Hollanders*, he would restore to me what Goods were mine. But this was of little consequence with him, who had already taken possession of mine and all other Goods in the ship: he told me, I must suffer with those among whom I was found, and that I might as well claim all the Goods in the Ship. I desired him then to carry me with him to *Holland*, that thence I might get to *England*, which also he refused, telling me that he went about from one place to another, and knew not when he should go to *Holland*, and that he was ready to fight with any *Spanish* ship, and if he should fight with the *Spaniards* whilst I was in his Ship, his Soldiers in their hot Blood might do me a Mischief, thinking I would do them harm, if in fight they should be taken by the *Spaniards*. With these his Answers I saw there was no hope of getting again what now was lost there--

therefore (as before) I commended my self again to Gods Providence and Protection. The Soldiers and Mariners of the *Holland* Ship made haste that afternoon to unload the Goods of our Frigat into their Man of War, which took up that, and part of the next day, whilst we as Prisoners were waisting up and down the Sea with them. And whereas we thought our Money had satisfied them and to the full, we found next day that they had also a stomach to our Fowls and Bacon, and wanted our Meal to make them bread, and our Honey to sweeten their mouths, and our Hides for Shoos and Boots; all which they took away, leaving me my Quilt, Books, and brass Pictures, and to the Master of the Frigat some small Provision, as much as might carry us to Land, which was not far off, and thus they took their leaves of us, thanking us for their good entertainment. And we weary of such guests, some praying to God that they might never entertain the like again, some cursing them all, and especially the Malatto, to Hell, calling him Renegado; some thanking God for their Lives, which were given them for a Prey, we all return'd to *Suere* whence we had set out, and going up the River, were like to be cast away, and lose our Lives, after we had lost our Goods. When we came to Land, the *Spaniards* about the Countrey pitied our case, and help'd us with Alms, gathering a Collection for us. The three *Spaniards* of my company lost all their Money, and most of their best Clothes; yet they had reserv'd some Bills of Exchange for Money to be taken up at *Portobello*; which I wish'd I had also for what I had lost. For the present we knew not what course to take, we thought of going to *Rio de los Anzuelos*, but were informed that certainly the Frigats there were either gone, or would be before we could get thither; and if they stay'd not on the news of the *Hollanders* Ships at Sea, they either already were or would be their Prize, as we had been. We resolv'd then with the charitable Assistance of the *Spaniards* of the Countrey to return to *Carthago*, and thence to take some better directions. In the way we confer'd what we had say'd, the

Spaniards

Spaniards bragg'd yet of their Bills of Exchange, which would yield them Money at *Carthago*, I would not let them know what I had sav'd, but somewhat I told them I had kept; and we agreed all the way we went to signifie nothing but Poverty and Misery, that the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in the way might pity and commiserate us, and our great Losses. When we came to *Carthago* we were indeed much pitied, and Collections were made for us; and it was expected from me, that I should sing again at the Altars (who truly could rather have cried to see and consider my many misfortunes and disasters, which I desir'd might at last by a safe return to *England*, prove the Trials of the faith I intended to search out) and that I should preach, wherever I came; so by these two ways, of singing and huddling over *Dominus vobiscum* and the rest of the Mass, and by accepting of what Sermons were recommended to me, I began again to store my self with Monies. Yet knew that in such a poor Country as that was, where I was little known, I could not possibly get enough to bring me home with Credit to *England*; and therefore the cunning Enemy finding me to stand upon my Credit, began strongly to tempt me to return again to *Guatemala* (where I doubted not but I should be welcom'd and entertain'd by my Friends) and to settle my self there, till I had again by sacrilegious, base, superstitious, and Idolatrous Means, and Works, made up a new Purse to return with Credit home.

But I perceiving that God shew'd himself angry, and had justly taken from me, what by unlawful means I had in twelve years obtain'd, bad Satan avaunt, purposing never more to return to the Flesh-pots of *Egypt*, and to go still home-wards, though in the way I did beg my Bread. Yet (lest I might be suspected among the *Spaniards*, and troubl'd for not exercising my Orders and Function) I resolv'd to take what as to a Stranger and Traveller, for Preaching or any other Exercise, might be offer'd unto m^e.

Thus with Courage resolving to go on still towards
England,

England, I enquir'd at *Carthago* which way I might get to *Portobello*. But this door of hope was fast shut up; though my trust in Gods Providence was not weaken'd. In this season, There came to *Carthago* two or 300 Mules unsaddled or unloaden, with some *Spaniards*, *Indians* and *Blackmoors*, from the parts of *Comayagua*, and *Guatemala*, to convey them to *Panama* by Land, over the Mountains of *Veragua*, there to be sold. This is the yearly and only trading by Land, which *Guatemala*, *Comayagua*, and *Nicaragua*, hath with *Panama* over that narrow *Isthmus* lying between the North, and South Sea, which is very dangerous by reason of the craggy Ways, rocks, and Mountains, but especially, by reason of many Heathens, Barbarians and Savages which as yet are not conquer'd by the *Spaniards*, and sometimes do great mischief, and kill those that with Mules pass through their Country, especially if they misdemean themselves or please them not well. Yet for all these difficulties, I was entertaining a thought to go along with those Mules and *Spaniards* which were now on their way by Land to *Panama*. The three *Spaniards* were half of the same mind; but the Providence of God who better Orders and disposes Mans Affairs than he himself, disappointed these our thoughts, for our Good and Safety, as after we were inform'd; for we heard for certain at *Nicoia*, that some of those Mules and *Spaniards* were kill'd by the *Barbarians* and Savage *Indians*, among whom my Life might have been lost, if I had attempted that hard and dangerous Journey; from which many well-wishers at *Carthago* dissuaded me, both for the danger of the *Indians*, and for the difficulties of the Ways and Mountains, which they told me the Weakness of my body would never indure. After we had wholly desisted from this Land-Journey, the best Counsel we had from some Merchants our Friends, was to try whether *Mar del Zur*, or the South-Sea, would favour our Design and Journey, better then the *Mar del Nort*, or the North-Sea had done; who wish'd us to go to *Nicoia*, and thence to *Chira* and to the *Golfo de Salinas*,

Salinas, where they doubted not but we should find Shipping to *Panama*. We were willing to follow any good Advice and Counsel; yet we knew this was the last shift we could make, and the *non plus ultra* of our hope, and if here we should be disappointed, we could expect no other way ever to get to *Panama*, except we ventur'd our lives most desperately over the Mountains of *Vera-gua*, by Land without any Guide or Company through the Country of the *Barbarians*, (who before had slain some *Spaniards* passing that way) or else should return, all the way that we had come, to *Realejo*, where our hopes might be frustrated, and peradventure no Shipping found for *Panama*, without a Years waiting.

We resolv'd therefore to follow our friends Counsel, and to go to *Nicoya*, and thence to *Golfo de Salinas*, where laughing, I told the three *Spaniards* of my company, if we were disappointed, we would like *Hercules* set up a Pillar to eternize our Fame, with our Names, and this Inscription, *Non Plus ultra*, for that beyond it there was no other Port, Haven, or Place, to take Shipping to *Panama*; neither could any have done more (nor ever did any English-man in that Country do more than my self) than we had done, but especially my self, who from *Mixco* had thus travell'd by Land to *Nicoya*, at least 600 leagues, or 1800 *English* miles straight from North to South, beside what I had travell'd from *Vera Cruz*, to *Mexico*, and from *Guatemala* to *Vera Paz*, and to *Puerto de Cavallos*, or *Golfo dulce*, and thence to *Truxillo*, and thence back again to *Guatemala*, which was at least 13 or 1400 *English* miles more, which I thought to eternize on a Pillar at *Nicoya*. But what there was not erected, I hope here shall be eterniz'd, and that this my true and faithful History shall be a Monument of three thousand and three hundred miles travell'd by an Englishman, within the Main-Land of *America*, beside other Sea-Navigations to *Panama*, from *Portobelo* to *Carthagena*, and thence to the *Havana*. The way which we travell'd from *Carthago* to *Nicoya* was very
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mountainous, hard, and unpleasant, for we met with few Estantia's of *Spaniards*, and few *Indian Towns*, and those very poor, small, and all of dejected and wretched people. Yet *Nicoya* is a pretty Town, and head of a *Spanish* government, where we found one *Justo de Salazar*, *Alcalde Maior*, who entertain'd us very well, and provided Lodgings for us for the time we should abide there, and comforted us with hopeful words, that tho for the present there was no Ship or Frigate in the Gulf of *Salinas*, yet he doubted not, but very shortly one would come from *Panama* for Salt and other Commodities, as yearly they were wont. The Time of the Year when we came thither, was fit for me to get again some Monies after my great loss; for it was in Lent which is the Fryers chief Harvest, who (as I have before observ'd) then by Confessions and by giving the Communion get many Money-offerings.

The Time, and the Franciscan Fryers who had the Pastorship and Charge of that Town, were both very commodious to me, who could not refuse, as long as I stay'd there, to exercise my Function, lest I should bring a just cause of Suspicion and Aspersion on my self. The Fryer of the Town was a *Portugal*, who about three weeks before my coming thither had had a great Bickering and Strife with *Justo de Salazar* the *Alcalde Maior*, for defending the *Indians* whom *Salazar* grievously oppress'd, employing them in his, and in his Wives Service as Slaves, not paying them what for the sweat of their brows was due to them, and commanding them from their home and from their Wives, and from their Church on the Sabbath, working for him as well that day as any other. which the Frier not enduring, charg'd them in the Pulpit, not to obey any such unlawful Commands from their *Alcalde Maior*. But *Justo de Salazar* (who had been train'd up in Wars and Fighting, and serv'd formerly in the Castle of *Milan*) thought it a great disparagement, now to be curb'd by a Frier, and interrupted in his Government of the *Indians*, and in the ways of
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his Lucre and gain. Therefore after many bitter Words and Defiances had past between him and the Frier, he came one day resolutely to the Friars House with his Sword drawn, and certainly had not the Frier been assisted by some of the *Indians*, he had kill'd him. The Frier being as hot as he, and standing on his Calling, Orders and Priesthood, presuming he durst not touch him violently, lest his Privelege should bring an Excommunication on the Striker and Offender, would not flie from him, but dar'd him boldly; which was a strong Provocation to *Salazars* Heat and Passion, and caus'd him to lift up his Sword, and aim his Blow and Stroke at the Frier, which fell so unhappily that he struck off two of the Friars Fingers, and had undoubtely seconded another Blow more hurtful and dangerous to the Frier, had not the *Indians* interpos'd, and shut up their Priest into his Chamber. *Justo* was for this Action excommunicated, yet being a Man of high Authority, he soon got off his Excommunication from the Bishop of *Costarica*, and sent his Complaint to the Chancery of *Guatemala* against the Frier, where with Friends and Mony he doubted not but to overcome the Mendicant Priest, as it hapned after; for (as I was inform'd) he caused the Frier to be sent for to the Court, and there prevail'd so much against him, that he got him remov'd from *Nicoya*. In this Season the Frier kept his House and Chamber, and would by no means go to the Church, either to say Mass, or preach, or hear Confessions, (all which that Time of the Year required) but had got one to help him; who alone not being able to perform so great a charge of many hundred *Indians*, *Spaniards*, *Black-moors*, and *Mulatto's* who from the Country without, and from the Town within expected to have their Confessions heard, their Sins absolv'd, the Word preach'd, and the Communion to be given them; hearing of my coming desir'd me to assist him, and that for my pains I should have my Meat and Drink at his Table, and a Crown daily for every Mass, and whatsoever else the People should voluntarily offer, beside the Sermons,

Sermons, for which I should be well rewarded. I stay'd in this Town from the second week of Lent till Easter week, where what with three Sermons at ten Crowns a piece, what with my dayly Stipend and many other Offerings, I got about an hundred and fifty Crowns.

The week before Easter news came of a Frigat from *Panama* to *Golfo de Salinas*, which much comforted us, who already began to mistrust the Delay. The Master of the Frigat came to *Nicoya*, which is as a Court thereabout; and with him the three *Spaniards* and my self agreed for our passage to *Panama*. About *Chira*, *Golfo de Salinas*, and *Nicoya*, there are some farms of *Spaniards*, few and very small *Indian Towns*, who are all like Slaves employ'd by the *Alcalde Maior*, to make him a kind of Thred call'd *Pita*, which is a very rich Commodity in *Spain*, especially of that colour wherewith it is dyed in these parts of *Nicoya*, which is Purple, for which the *Indians* are here much charg'd to work about the Sea-shore, and there to find certain Shells, wherewith they make this Purple Die. *Purpura* is a kind of Shell-fish, whose usual length of Life is seven years, he hides himself about the rising of the Dog-star and continues for 300 days; it is gather'd in the Spring, and by a mutual rubbing of them together, they yield a kind of thick Slime like soft Wax; but its famous Die for Garments is in the Mouth of the Fish, and the most refined Juyce is in a white Vein, the rest of his Body is of no use: Your *Segovia* Cloth died therewith, for the richness of the Colour, is sold at five or six pound the yard, and used only by the greatest Dons of *Spain*, and in ancient time only worn by the Noblest *Romans*, call'd by the name of *Tyrian Purple*.

There are also Shells for other Colours, not known to be so plentifully in any other Place as here. About *Chira* and *Golfo de Salinas*, the chief Commodities are Salt, Hony, Maiz, some Wheat and Fowls, which every year they send by some few Frigats to *Panama*, which

thence come on purpose to fetch them with this purple Thred, or *Pita*, which I have spoken of. The Frigate which came when I was there, was soon laden with these Commodities, and with it we set out, hoping to have been at *Panama* in five or six days. But as often before we had been crossed, so likewise in this short passage we strove with the Wind, Sea, and *Corrientes*, as they are call'd (which are swift Streams as of a River) four full weeks. After the first day we set out, we were driven with a Wind and Storm towards *Pern*, till we came under the very Equinoctial, where what with excessive Heat, what with mighty Storms, we despair'd of life. But after one week that we had thus run towards death, it pleased God in whom and by whom *all Creatures Live, move, and have their being*, to comfort us again with hopes of Life, sending us a prosperous Gale, which drove us out of that Equinoctial Heat, and Stormy Sea, towards the Island of *Perlas*, and *Puerta de Chame*, on the South side of the Mountains of *Veragua*, whence we hop'd within two days at most to be at rest and Anchor at *Panama*. But yet there our Hopes were frustrate, for our Wind was calm'd, and we fell on those strong *Corrientes* or Streams, which drave us back in the Night for almost a Fort-night as much as we had sail'd by day. Had not God again been merciful here to us, we had certainly perish'd in this our striving with the Stream; for tho we wanted not Provision of Food, yet our Drink fail'd us so, that for four days we tasted neither Wine or Water, or any thing to quench our thirst, save a little Hony which we found caused more Thirst in us, which made me and some others Drink our own Urine, and refresh our mouths with Pieces of Lead-Bullets which for a while refresh'd, but would not long have sufficed Nature, had not Gods good Providence sent us such a Wind as in the day drove us quite off from those *Corrientes*. Our first thoughts were then to strike to the Continent, or some Island of many which were about us to seek for Water, finding our Bodies weak and languishing, which the Capt.

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Of the Ship would by no means yield to, assuring us that day he would Land us at *Panama*; but we not being able to sail on without any Drink, unless we should yield to have our dead and not our Live Bodies landed where he promised, thought it not good purchase, though we might buy all *Panama* with our Lives, which we judg'd could not hold out another day; and seeing that the Wind began to slacken, we all requir'd him to strike into some Island for Water; which he stubbornly refused to do; whereupon the three *Spaniards* and some of the Mariners mutined against him with drawn Swords, threatening to kill him, if he betook not himself presently to some Island. The good Master not liking to see Swords at his breast, and so commanded his Ship to be turned to two or three Islands, not above two or three hours sail from us. When we drew nigh them, we cast Anchor, and threw out our Cock-boat, and happy was he that could first cast himself into it to be rowed to Land to fill his Belly with Water. The first Island we landed on, was on that side uninhabitable, where we spent much time running to and fro, overheating our selves and increasing our Thirst; whilst one ran one way, and another tried another to find some Fountain, our hope being frustrated and I lost in the Wood, and my Shoes torn from my Feet, with Stony Rocks, and many Thorns and Bushes; my company betook themselves to the Cock-boat to try another Island, leaving me alone, and lost in the Wood out of which at last when I came, and found the Cock-boat gone from the shore, I began to consider my self a dead man, thinking that they had found Water and were gone to Ship, and not finding me would hoise up their Sail for *Panama*. Thus being dejected I cry'd out to the Ship, which I perceiv'd could not possibly hear my weak Voice, and running up and down the Rocks to see if I could discover the Cock-boat, I perceiv'd it was not with the Ship, and espied it at the next Island. With this I began to hope better things of them, that they would call for me when they had got Water; so I came down from the Rocks to the Shore, where I found a Shade of Trees and

among them some Berries (which might have been Poison, for I knew them not) wherewith I refresh'd my Mouth a while ; but my Body so burn'd that I thought there with Heat, Weakness and Faintness, I should have expired and given up the Ghost. I thought by stripping my self naked and going into the Sea to my neck, I might refresh my Body, which I did, and coming out again into the Shade, I fell into a deep sleep, insomuch that the Cock-boat coming for me, and the Company hollowing to me, I awaked not, which made them fear that I was dead or lost ; till Landing, one search'd for me one way, and another another, and so they found me, who might have been a Prey to some wild-Beast, or slept till the Frigat had gone away , and so have perish'd in a barren and uninhabitable Island. When they awak'd me I was Glad to see my good company, and the first thing I enquir'd for, was, if they had got any Water; they bad me be of good cheer and arise ; for they had Water enough, and Oranges and Lemons from another Island, where they met with *Spaniards* that did inhabit it. I made haste with them to the Boat, and no sooner was I entred into it but they gave me to drink as much as I would. The Water was warm and unsetled, for they could not take it up so but that they took of the Gravel, and bottom of the Fountain, which made it look very muddy; yet for all this (as though my Life had depended on it) I drunk up a whole Pot of it ; which no sooner had I drunk, but such was the Weakness of my Stomach, that I presently cast it up again, not being able to bear it. With this they wished me to eat an Orange or a Lemon ; but them also did my Stomach reject ; so to our Frigat we went, and in the way I fainted so that the Company verily thought I would die, before we got aboard. When we came thither I call'd again for Water, which was no sooner down my Stomach, but presently up again ; they had me to Bed with a burning Feaver upon me ; where I lay that night expecting nothing but Death, and that the Sea would be my Grave.

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The Master of the Ship seeing the wind was turn'd, began to be much troubl'd, and fear'd that with that wind he should never get to *Panama*. He resolv'd to venture on a way, which never before he had tryed; which was, to get between the two Islands which we had search'd for Water, knowing that the Wind, which on this side was contrary, on the other side of the Islands would be favourable to him. Thus towards Evening he took up Anchor and hoised up his Sails, and resolv'd to pass his Frigate between the two Islands; which how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, the Event witness'd. I lay now (as I may truly say) on my death-bed, not regarding which way the Master of the Ship, or Fortune carried me, so that the Mercy of the Lord carried my Soul to Heaven. No sooner had the Frigate steer'd her course between the narrow passage of the two Islands, when being carried with the Stream too much to one side of the Land it ran upon a Rock; so that the very Stern was lifted up, and almost cast out of the Pilots hands, who cryed out, not to God, but to the *Virgin Mary*, saying, *Ayudad nos Virgin Santissima, que si no aqui nos perecemos*, help us, O most holy Virgin, for if not, here we perish. This, and the outcry of all that were in the Frigate gave me an Alarm of death, from which yet it pleased God by the diligence of the painful Mariners to deliver me and all the Company; for with much ado most part of that Night they haled from the Cock-boat the Frigate off from the Rock, after the Stream had made it three several times strike upon it. After a very troublesome Night, in the Morning we got our little Ship out of danger and from between the two Islands on the other side of them, where we sail'd prosperously towards *Panama*. That morning my stomach recover'd Strength, and I began to eat and drink, and to walk about, rejoycing much to see those pleasant Islands which we sail'd by. In the Evening we got to *Puerto de Perico*; where we cast Anchor, expecting to be search'd in the morning; but that Night (the Master of our Ship having

gone ashore) the Wind turn'd and blew so strong that we lost our Anchor, and were driven back almost to *la Pacbeque*, and fear'd we should be carried out into the Ocean again so far that we should with great difficulty get to *Panama*. But that God whom the Sea and Winds obey, turn'd again that contrary Wind into a prosperous Gale, where-with we came once more to *Perico*; and being search'd we went on with full Sail to *Panama*; being near the Port and without an Anchor, the Wind once more blew us back, and had not the Ship-master sent us an Anchor, we had gone again to *Pacbeque* or further. But with that Anchor we stay'd all that night at *Perico*, wondring among our selves that so many crosses should befall us, which made some say, we were bewitch'd; others, that certainly there was among us some excommunicate person, whom they said if they knew, they should hurl him over board. Whilst they were in this discourse, the wind turn'd yet again, and we weighing Anchor went on to *Panama*, whither it pleased God that time safely to conduct us. I being now well strengthned made no stay in that Frigate, which I thought would have been my last abiding-place in this World, but went to Land, and betook my self to the Cloister of the *Dominicans*, where I stay'd almost fifteen days viewing and reviewing that City; which is Govern'd like *Guatemala* by a President and six Judges, and a Court of Chancery, and is a Bishops seat. It has more strength towards the South-Sea than any other Port which on that side I had seen, and some Ordnance planted for the Defence of it; but the Houses are of the least strength of any place I had entred in; for Lime and Stone is hard to come by, and therefore, and for the great Heat there, most of the houses are built of Timber and Boards; the Presidents House, say the best Church-walls are but Boards, which serve for Stone and Brick, and for Tiles. The Heat is so extraordinary that a Linnen cut Doublet, with some slight Stuff or Taffety Breeches is the common clothing of the Inhabitants. Fish, Fruits and Sallets are more plentiful there than Flesh; the cool Water of the *Coco* is the

the Womens best Drink, though Chocolate also, and much Wine from *Peru* be very abounding. The *Spaniards* are here much given to sin, Looseness and Venerie especially, making the *Black-moors*, (who are many, rich and gallant) the chief Objects of their Lust, It is held to be one of the richest places in *America*, having by Land and by the River *Chiagre* commerce with the North-Sea, and by the South, trading with all *Peru*, *East-India's*, *Mexico* and *Honduras*. Thither is brought the chief Treasure of *Peru* in two or three great Ships, which lie at anchor at *Puerto de Perico* three Leagues from the City; for the great ebbing of the Sea at that place, suffers not any great Vessel to come nearer, where dayly the Sea ebbs and falls away from the City two or three Miles, leaving a Mud, which is thought to cause much Unhealthiness, being seconded with many muddy and moorish places about the Town. It consists of some five thousand Inhabitants, and maintains at least eight Cloisters of Nuns and Friars. I fear'd much the Heats, and therefore made as much hast out of it as I could. I had my choice of Company by Land and Water to *Portobello*. But considering the Hardness of the Mountains by Land, I resolv'd to go by the River *Chiagre*; and so at Midnight I set out from *Panama* to *Venta de Cruzes*, ten or twelve leagues from it. The way is thither very plain for the most part, and pleasant in the Morning and Evening.

Before ten of the clock we got to *Venta de Cruzes*, where live none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-moors*, who belong to the flat-boats that carry the Merchandise to *Portobel*. There I had very good Entertainment by that people, who desir'd me to preach to them the next Sabbath-day and gave me twenty Crowns for a Sermon, and Procession. After five days abode there, the Boats set out, which were much stopt in their passage down the River; for in some places we found the Water very low, so that the Boats ran upon the Gravel; whence with Poles and the Strength of the *Black-moors* they were to be lifted off again; sometimes again we met with such Streams

as carried us with the swiftness of an Arrow down under Trees and Boughs by the River side, which sometimes also stopt us till we cut them down. Had not it pleased God to send us after the first week plentiful Rain, which made the Water run down from the Mountains and fill the River (which otherwise of it self is very shallow) we might have had a tedious and longer passage; but after twelve days we got to the Sea, and at the point landed at the Castle to refresh our selves for half a day. Certainly the *Spaniards* trust to the Streams and Shallows o that River, which they think will keep off any forrain nation, from attempting to come up to *Venta de Cruzes*, and from thence to *Panama*, or else they would strengthen more and fortifie that Castle, which in my time wanted great Reparations, and was ready to fall. The Governour of the Castle was a notable Wine-bibber, who plyed us with that Liquor the time that we stayed there, and wanting a Chaplain for himself and Soldiers, would fain have had me stay'd with him; but greater matters call'd me further, and so I took my leave of him, who gave us some Daintes of fresh Meat, Fish, and Conserves, and so dismissed us. We got out to the open Sea, discovering first the *Escudo de Veragua*, and keeping somewhat close to the land, we went on rowing towards *Portobel*, till Evening, which was Saturday-Night; then we cast Anchor behind a little Island, resolving in the Morning to enter into *Portobel*. The *Black moors* all that Night kept Watch for fear of *Hollanders*, who, they said, did often lie in wait thereabouts for the Boats of *Cbiagre*; but we passed the night safely, and next morning got to *Portobello*, whose Haven we observ'd to be very strong, with two Castles at the mouth, and constant Watch within them, and another call'd *St. Miguel* further in the Port.

When I came into the Haven, I was sorry to see that the *Galcons* were not come from *Spain*, knowing the longer I stay'd in that place, the greater would be my charges. Yet I comforted my self that the time of the year was

was come, and that they could not long delay their coming. My first thoughts were of taking up a Lodging, which at that time were plentiful and cheap, nay some were offer'd me for nothing, with this Caveat, that when the Galeons did come, I must either leave them, or pay a dear rate for them. A kind Gentleman who was the Kings Treasurer, falling in discourse with me, promised to help me, that I might be cheaply lodg'd, even when the Ships came, and Lodgings were at the highest rate. He, interposing his Authority, went with me to seek one, which at the time of the Fleets being there, might continue to be mine. It was no bigger than would contain a Bed, a Table, and a Stool or two, with room enough beside to open and shut the Door, and they demanded of me for it, during the foresaid time of the Fleet, sixscore Crowns, which commonly is a fortnight. For the Town being little and the Soldiers that come with the Galeons for their defence at least four or five thousand; besides Merchants from *Peru*, from *Spain*, and many other places to buy and sell, is the cause that every Room, tho never so small, be dear, and sometimes all the Lodgings in the Town are few enough for so many people, which at that time meet at *Portobel*. I knew a Merchant who gave a thousand Crowns for a Shop of reasonable bigness, to sell his Wares and commodities that year that I was there, for fifteen days only, which the Fleet continu'd in that Haven. I thought it much for me to give the sixscore Crowns demanded of me for a room, which was but a Mouse-hole, and began to be troubl'd, and told the Kings Treasurer that I had been lately robb'd at Sea, and was not able to give so much, besides charges for my diet, which I fear'd would prove as much more. But not a farthing would be abated of what was ask'd; whereupon the good Treasurer pitying me, offer'd to the man of the house to pay him threescore Crowns of it, if I was able to pay the rest, which I must do, or else lie in the Street. Yet till the Fleet did come, I would not enter into this dear
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Hole, but accepting of another fair Lodging, which was offer'd me for nothing. Whilst I thus expected the Fleets coming some Mony and offerings I got for Masses, and for two Sermons which I preach'd at fifteen Crowns apiece. I visited the Castles, which indeed seem'd to me very strong; but what most I wondred at was to see the *Requa's* of Mules which came thither from *Panama* laden with Wedges of Silver; in one day I told 200 Mules, laden with nothing else, which were unladen in the publick Market place, so that there the heaps of Silver Wedges lay like heaps of Stones in the Street, without any fear of being lost. Within ten days the Fleet came, consisting of eight Galeons, and ten Merchants ships, which forced me to run to my Hole. It was a Wonder to see the Multitude of People in those Streets which the Week before had been empty.

Then began the Price of all things to rise, a Fowl to be worth twelve Rials, which in the Main-Land before I had often bought for one; a pound of Beef then was worth two Rials, whereas I had had in other places thirteen pound for half a Rial, and so of all other Provision, which was so excessive dear, that I knew not how to live but by Fish and Tortoises, which there are very many, and tho somewhat dear, yet were the cheapest Meat I could eat. It was worth seeing how Merchants sold their Commodities, not by the Ell or Yard; but by the Piece and Weight, not paying in coin'd Pieces of Money, but in Wedges, which were weigh'd and taken for Commodities. This lasted but fifteen days, whilst the Galeons were lading with Wedges of Silver, and nothing else; so that for those fifteen days, I dare boldly avouch, that in the world there is no greater Fair than that of *Portobel*, between the *Spanish* Merchants, and those of *Peru*, *Panama*, and other parts thereabouts.

Whilst this traffick was, it hapned to me that which I have formerly testified in my Recantation Sermon at *Pauls* Church, which if by that means it have not come to the knowledge of many, I desire again to record it in
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this my History, that to all *England* it may be publish'd; which was that one day saying Mass in the chief Church, after the Consecration of the Bread, being with my eyes shut at that Prayer, which the Church of *Rome* calls the *Memento* for the dead, there came from behind the Altar a Mouse, which running about, came to the very Bread or Wafer god of the Papists, and taking it in his mouth, ran away with it, not being perceiv'd by any of the people who are at Mass, for that the Altar was high, by reason of the steps going up to it, and the people far beneath. But as soon as I open'd my eyes to go on with my Mass, and perceiv'd my God stoln away, I look'd about the Altar, and saw the Mouse running away with it; which on a sudden did so stupifie me, that I knew not well what to do or say, and calling my Wits together, I thought that if I should take no notice of the mischance, and any body else in the Church should, I might justly be question'd by the Inquisition; but if I should call to the people to look for the Sacrament, then I might be but rebuked for my Carelessness, which of the two I thought would be mor easely born, then the Rigor of the Inquisition. Whereupon not knowing what the people had seen, I turn'd my self to them, and call'd them to the Altar, and told them plainly, that whilst I was in my *Memento* Prayers and Meditations, a Mouse had carried away the Sacrament, and that I knew not what to do, unless they would help me to find it again. The people call'd a Priest that was at hand, who presently brought in more of his Coat, and as if their God by this had been eaten up, they presently prepar'd to find out the Thief, as if they would eat up the Mouse that had so assaulted and abused their God; they lighted Candles and Torches to find out the Malefactor in his secret Places of the Wall; and after much searching and inquiry for the sacrilegious Beast, they found at last in a Hole of the Wall the Sacrament half eaten up, which with great Joy they took out, and as if the Ark had been brought again from the *Philistins* to the *Israelites*, so they rejoy'd for their new found God, whom

whom with many people now resorted to the Church, with many Candles and Torches, with joyful and solemn musick they carried about the Church in Procession. My self was present on my knees, shaking and quivering for what might be done to me, and expecting my Doom and Judgment; as the Sacrament passed by me, I observ'd in it the marks of the teeth of the Mause as they are to be seen in a piece of Cheese gnawn and eaten by it.

This struck me with such Horror, that I car'd not at that present whether I had been torn in a thousand pieces for denying publickly that Mause-eaten God. I call'd to my best memory all philosophy concerning Substance and Accident, and resolv'd within my self, that what I saw gnawn was not an Accident, but some real Substance eaten and devoured by that vermin, which certainly was fed and nourished by what it had eaten, and Philosophy well teacheth, *substantia cibi (non accidentis) convertitur in substantiam aliti*, the substance (not the accident of the Food or Meat) is converted and turned into the substance of the thing fed by it and allmented: Now here I knew that this Mause had fed on some substance, or else how could the marks of the teeth so plainly appear? But no Papist will be willing to answer that it fed on the substance of Christs body, *ergo*, by good consequence it follows that it fed on the substance of Bread; and so Transubstantiation here in my Judgment was confuted by a Mause; which mean and base Creature God chose to convince me of my former Errors, and made me now resolve on what many years before I had doubted, that certainly the point of Transubstantiation taught by the Church of Rome, is most damnable and erroneous; for beside what before I have observed, it contradicts that Philosophical Axiom, teaching that *duo contradictoria non possunt simul & semel de eodem verificari*, two Contradictions cannot at once and at the same time be said and verified of the same thing; but here it was so; for here in Romes Judgment and Opinion Christs body was gnawn and eaten, and at the same time the same Body in another place, and on another

Altar

Altar in the hands of another Priest was not eaten and gnawn: Therefore here are two Contradictories verified of the same Body of Christ: to wit it was eaten and gnawn, and it was not eaten and gnawn. These Impressions at that time were so great in me, that I resolv'd in my self, that Bread really and truly was eaten on the Altar, and by no means Christs glorious Body, which is in Heaven, and cannot be on earth Subject to the Hunger or Violence of a Creature. Here again I desir'd with godly *David* that I might have the wings of a Dove to fly into my Country of *England*, and there be satisfied in this point, and be at rest of Conscience. Here I resolv'd if I had been question'd for my Carelessness, or for my Contempt of that *Romish* Sacrament (which I thought would be the judgment of the *Spaniards*, who knew me to be an *English-man*) that I would sacrifice willingly my Life for the Protestant Truth, which as yet I had been no otherwise taught, but by that Spirit which (as *Salomon* well observes) in a man is the Candle of the Lord. I conceiv'd here that this was some Comfort to my Soul which my good God would afford me in the way of my travelling to *Canaan*, that I might more willingly bear whatsoever Crosses might befall me in my way to *England*. The Event of this Accident was not any trouble that fell on me for it; for indeed the *Spaniards* attributed it to the Carelessness of him who had Care of the Altars in the Church, and not to any Contempt in me to the Sacrament. The part of the Wafer that was left after the Mouse had filled her belly, was laid up after the solemn Procession about the Church, in a Tabernacle for that purpose, that afterwards it might be eaten up by some hungry Priest. And because such a high contempt had been offer'd by a contemptible Vermin to their Bread-god it was commanded through *Portobel* that day, that all the people should humble themselves and mourn, and fast with Bread and Water only. Though I saw I was not questioned for the case, yet I fear'd where there were so many Soldiers and forain people, that by
some

some or other I might be mischiefed out of their blind Zeal, wherefore I thought it not amiss for a day or two to keep my Lodging. *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, the Admiral of that Fleet, made great haste to be gone ; which made Merchants buy and sell apace, and lade the Ships with Silver Wedges ; whereof I was glad, for the more they laded, the less I unladed my Purse with buying dear Provision, and sooner I hop'd to be out of that unhealthy place, which of it self is very hot, and subject to breed Fevers, nay Death, if the Feet be not preserv'd from wet, when it rains ; but especially when the Fleet is there, it is an open Grave, ready to swallow part of that numerous people, which then resort to it, as was seen the year that I was there, when about 500 Soldiers, Merchants and Mariners, what with Fevers, and the Flux caused by too much eating of Fruit, and drinking of Water, what with other disorders, lost their Lives, finding it to be to them not *Porto bello*, but *Porto malo*. And this is usual every year ; therefore for the relief of those that come sick from Sea, or sicken there, a great and rich Hospital is in the Town, with many Fryers, call'd *De la Capacha*, or by others *De Juan de Dios*, whose Calling and Profession is only to cure and attend ou the sick, and to bear the dead to their graves. The Admiral fearing the great sickness that year, made haste to be gone, not fearing the Report of some three or four *Holland* or *English* Ships abroad at Sea, waiting (as was supposed) for some good prize out of that great and rich Fleet. This news made me fear, and think of securing my self in one of the best and strongest Galeons ; but when I came to treat of my passage in one of them, I found I could not be carried in any under 300 Crowns, which was more then I was able to afford. With this I thought to address my self to some Master of a Merchants Ship, tho I knew I could not be so safe and secure in them, as in a Galeon well mann'd with Soldiers, and Guns of Brass ; yet I hop'd in God, who is a strong
Refuge

Refuge to them that fear him, and now provided for me a cheap and sure Passage. For meeting one day with my Friend the Treasurer, he again pitying me as a Stranger, and lately robb'd, commended me to the Master of a Merchant Ship, call'd *St. Sebastian*, whom he knew was desirous to carry a Chaplain with him at his own Table. I no sooner address'd my self to him, using the Name and Favour of his and my Friend the Treasurer, but presently I found him willing to accept of my company, promising to carry me for nothing, and to board me at his own Table, only for my prayers to God for him and his, offering further to give me some Satisfaction for any Sermons I should preach in his Ship. I blessed God, acknowledging in this also his Providence, who in all occasions further'd my return to *England*. The Ships being laden we set forth for *Cartagena* and the second day we discover'd four Ships, which made the Merchant Ships, afraid, and keep close to the Galeons; trusting to their Strength more than their own. The Ship I was in, was swift and nimble under the wings either of the Admiral or of some other of the best Galeons; but all the other Merchants Ships were not so, but some slowly came on behind, whereof two were carryed away by the *Hollanders* in the night, before we could get to *Cartagena*.

The greatest Fear that possess'd the *Spaniards* in this Voyage, was about the Island of *Providence*, called by them *Sta Catarina*, or *St. Katharine*, whence they feared lest some *English* Ships should come against them with great strength. They cursed the *English* in it, and call'd the Island a den of Thieves and Pirates, wishing the King of *Spain* would take some course with it, or else that it would prove very prejudicial to the *Spaniards*, lying near the mouth of the *Desaguadero*, and so endangering the Frigats of *Granada*, and standing between *Portobel* and *Cartagena*, and so threatening the Galeons, and their Kings yearly and mighty Treasure.

Thus with bitter Invectives against the *English* and the Island of *Providence*, we sail'd on to *Cartagena*, where again

we met with the four Ships which before had follow'd us, and had taken away two of our Ships, and now at our entring into the Port, threatned to have carried away more of our Company; which they might have done, if they would have ventur'd upon the Ship wherein I went, which at the turning about the Land point to get into the Haven, ran ashore, which if it had been rocky, as it was sandy and gravelly, had certainly been cast away, by keeping too near the Land; from which Danger by the Care of the Mariners, and their active Pains, we were safely deliver'd, as also from the Ships which follow'd us as far as they durst for fear of the Canon of the Castle; and thus we entr'd into the Haven of *Carthagena*, and stay'd there eight or ten days, where I met with some of my Country-men there Prisoners, who had been taken at Sea by the *Spaniards*, and belong'd to the Island of *Providence*, among whom was the renown'd Capt. *Rouse* and about a dozen more, with whom I was glad to meet, but durst not shew them too much countenance, for fear of being suspected; yet I soon got the good will of some of them, who being destin'd to *Spain*, were very desirous to go in the Ship wherein I went, which desire of theirs I further'd, and was spier to my Captain to carry four of them, which for my sake he willingly yielded to; amonst these was one *Edward Layfield* (who afterwards setting out of *St. Lucar* for *England*, was taken captive by the *Turks*, and since from *Turkey* writ into *England* to me to help to release him) with whom both at *Carthagena*, and in the way in the Ship I had great discourse concerning points of Religion, and by him came to know some things profess'd in *England*, which my Conscience (while I lived in *America*) much inclin'd to. I was much taken with his Company, and found him very officious to me, whose Kindness I requited by speaking for him in the Ship to the Master and Mariners, who otherwise were forward to abuse him and the rest of the *English* Company, as Prisoners and Slaves.

At *Carthagena* we heard a report of 60 Sail of *Hollanders* waiting for the *Galeons*, which struck no little Fear into the *Spaniards*; who call'd a Council whether our Fleet should winter there, or go unto *Spain*. It prov'd but a false report of the Inhabitants of *Carthagena*, who for their own Ends and Lucre would willingly have had the Ships and *Galeons* have staid there; but *Don Carlos de Ybarra* reply'd, that he fear'd not 100 Sail of *Hollanders*, and therefore would go on to *Spain*, hoping to carry thither safely the Kings Treasure. Which he perform'd, and in eight days arriv'd at *Havana*, where we staid eight days longer, expecting the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*. In which time I view'd well that strong Castle mann'd with the twelve Guns, call'd the twelve *Apostles*, which would do little hurt to an Army by Land, or marching from the River of *Matanzas*. I visited here the Mother of that *Mulatto*, who had taken away all my means at Sea, and spent much time in comforting my poor Country-men the Prisoners, but especially that Gallant Capt. *Rouse*, who came to me to complain of some affronts which had been offer'd him by the *Spaniards* in the Ship wherein he came; which he not being able to put up, though a Prisoner to them, desired to question in the Field, challenging his proud contemnners to meet him, if they durst in any place of the *Havana*, (a brave courage in a deject'd and imprison'd English-Man, to challenge a *Spaniard* in his Country, a Cock on his own Dunghil,) which as soon as I understood by *Edward Layfield*, I desir'd to take up, fearing that many would fall on him cowardly and mince him small in pieces. I sent for him to the Cloister where I lay; and there I had Conference with him, prevailing so far that I made him desist from, his thoughts of going into the Field, and shewing his Manhood in such a time and Place, where his low Condition of a Prisoner might well excuse him. The rest of my Poor Country-men were here much discourag'd, and in some Want, whom I reliev'd (especially *Layfield*) and encourag'd as much as I was

able. I chanced here to have occasion to take a little Physick before I went to Sea, and thereby I learn'd what before I never knew, to wit, the Diet which on such a day the best Physicians of *Havana* prescribe to their Patients. Whereas after the working of my Physick, I expected a piece of Mutton, or a Fowl, or some other nourishing meat, my Physician left order that I should have a piece of roasted Pork, which seeming to me a diet contrary to that days Extremity, I refused it, alledging to my Doctor the contrary course of all Nations, the Natural Quality of that Meat to open the Body. To which he replied, that what Pork might work on mans Body in other Nations, it work'd not there, but the contrary; and so he wish'd me to feed on what he had prescribed, assuring me it would do me no hurt. Now as Hogs-Flesh there is held to be so nourishing, so likewise no other Meat is more than it and Tortoises, wherewith all the Ships make their Provision for *Spain*. The Tortoises they cut out in long thin Slices, as I have noted before of the *Tassajos*, and dry it in the wind after they have well salted it, and so it serves the Mariners, in their Voyage to *Spain*, which they eat boil'd with a little Garlick, and I have heard them say, that to them it tasted as well as Veal. They also take into their Ships some Fowls for the Masters and Captains tables, and live Hogs, which would seem enough to breed Infection in the Ship, had they not care to wash often the place where such unclean Beasts lie. In the Ship where I was Passenger, was kill'd every week one for the Masters, Pilots, and Passengers Table.

Thus all things being ready for the Ships Provision to *Spain*, and the Merchants Goods, and the Kings Revenue being shipt in nine days that we abode there; we now wanted nothing, but the Fleet from *Vera Cruz*, which should have met us there on the eighth of *September*. But *Don Carlos de Ibarra*, seeing it stay'd longer than the time appointed, and fearing the Weather, and the New Moon of that Month which commonly proves dangerous in the Golf of *Bahama*, resolv'd to stay no longer,
but

but to set out to *Spain*. On a Sabbath-day therefore in the morning we hoisted sails, (being in all seven and twenty Ships with those which had met us there from *Honduras* and the Islands) and one by one we sail'd out of the *Havana* to the main Sea, where we that day wasted about for a Wind, and also waiting for our Guide, which was not yet come out of the *Havana* to guide us through the Gulf of *Bahama*. But that night we wish'd our selves again in the *Havana*, thinking we were compass'd about with a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*, many Ships came among us, which made us provide for a Fight in the Morning. A Council of War was call'd and all that night Watch was kept, the Guns prepar'd, red Cloths hung round the Ships, Orders sent about to the Galeons and Merchants Ships what Posture and Place to be in. That which I was in, was to attend the Admiral, which I hop'd would be a strong Defence to us. Our men were courageous and ready to Fight, though I liked not such Martial business and discourse ; but for me a place was prepar'd where I might lie safe among some Barrels of Bisket. I had all the Night enough to do, to hear the Confessions of those in the Ship, who thought they could not die happily with the shot of a *Holland* Bullet, till they had confess'd their Sins to me, who towards Morning had more need of Rest, than Fighting, after the wearying my Ears with hearing so many wicked, grievous, and abominable Sins. But the dawning of the day discovered our causeless Fear, which was from Friends, and not from any Enemies or *Hollanders* ; for the Ships which were joyn'd to us in the Night, were as fearful of us, as we of them, and prepar'd themselves likewise to Fight in the Morning, which shew'd us their Colours, whereby we knew that they were the Fleet which we expected from *Vera Cruz*, to go along with us to *Spain*. They were two and twenty Sail, which little thought to find us out of the *Havana*, but within the Haven lying at Anchor, waiting for their coming, and therefore in the Night fear'd

"s much more than we them. But when the day clear'd
 Our Doubts and Fears, then began the Martial Colours
 to be taken down, the joyful Sound of Trumpets, with
 the help of *Neptunes* Kingdoms eccho'd from Ship to
 Ship, the Boats carried welcoming Messages from one to
 another, the *Spanish Brindis* with *buen Viaje, buen Passaje*,
 was Generallv cryed, the whole Morning spent with
 friendly Acclamations and Salutations. But in the midst
 of this our Joy and Sea-greetings, we being now in
 all two and fifty Sail, (yet we not knowing well how
 many they were from *Vera Cruz*, nor they how ma-
 ny we were from the *Havana*) two Ships were found
 amongst us, (whether *English* or *Hollanders*, we could not
 well discover, but the *English* Prisoners with me told me
 they thought one was a Ship of *England* call'd the *Neptune*)
 which having got the Wind of us, singl'd out a Ship of
 ours which (belong'd to *Dunkerke*, and from *S. Lucar* or
Cales had been forc'd to the Kings Service in that Voyage
 to the *India's*, laden with Sugars and other rich Commo-
 dities, to the worth of at least 80000 Crowns,) and
 suddenly giving her a whole broad side (receiving a
 reply only of two Guns) made her yield, without any
 hope of help from so proud and mighty a Fleet, for that
 she was too far straggld from the rest of the Ships. The
 whole Business lasted not above half an hour, but pre-
 sently she was carried away from under our Noses; the
Spaniards chang'd their merry Tunes into *voto a dios*, and
voto a Christo, in raging, and cursing and swearing some revil-
 ling of the Captain of the Ship which was taken, saying
 he was false, and yielded on purpose without fighting, be-
 cause he was forced to come that Voyage; others cursing
 those that took her, and calling them *bijos de puta*, *Borra-
 chos*, *infames Ladrones*, Bastards, Drunkards, infamous
 Thieves, and Pirates; some taking their Swords in their
 hands, as if they would cut them in pieces, some laying
 hold of their Muskets, as if they would there shoot them,
 others stamping like mad men, and running about the
 Ship, as if they would leap over board, and make haste
 after

after them; others grinning at the poor *English* Prisoners that were in the Ship, as if they would stab them for what (they said) their Country-Men had done. I must needs say, I had enough to do to hold some of those Furious and raging brains from doing *Layfield* a mischief, who more than the rest would be smiling, arguing, and answering their outrageous Nonsense. Order was presently given to the Vice Admiral and two more Galeons to pursue them; but all in vain, for the Wind was against them, and so the two Ships laughing and rejoicing as much as the *Spaniards* cursed and rag'd, sail'd away *con Viento en Popa*, with full Sail, Gallantly boasting with so Rich a prize taken away from two and fifty Ships, or (as I may say) from the chiefest and greatest strength of *Spain*.

That afternoon the Fleet of *Vera Cruz*, took their leave of us, (not being furnish'd with Provision to go on to *Spain* with us) and went into the *Havana*; and we set forward to *Europe*, fearing nothing for the present but the Gulf of *Bahama*, through which we got safely with the help and guidance of such Pilots, which our Admiral *Don Carlos* had chosen, and hired for that purpose.

I shall not need to tell my Reader, of the fight which we had of *St. Augustin, Florida*, nor of the many Storms we suffer'd in this Voyage, nor of the many degrees we came under, which made us shake with cold more than the Frosts of *England* do in the worst of Winter, only I say that the best of our Pilots not knowing where they were, had like to have betray'd us all to the Rocks of *Bermuda*, one Night, had not the breaking of the day given us Warning that we were running upon them. For which the *Spaniards* instead of giving God thanks for their delivery out of that Danger, began again to curse and rage against the *English*, which inhabited that Island, saying that they had enchanted that and the rest of those Islands about, and did still with the Devil raise Storms in those Seas when the *Spanish* Fleet pass'd that way. From thence when we had safely escap'd, we sail'd well to

the Islands call'd *Terceras*, where fain we would have taken in fresh Water, (for that which we had taken in at *Havana*, now began to stink, and look yellow, making us stop our Noses, whilst we open'd our Mouths,) but rigid *Don Carlos* would not pity the rest of his Company, who led us by the Islands; and the Night following we all with'd our selves in some Harbour of them; for (though in their conceit those Islands were not enchanted by *English-Men*, but inhabited by holy and Idolatrous Papists) we were no sooner got from them, when there rose the greatest Storm we had in all our Voyage from *Havana* to *Spain*, which lasted full eight days, where we lost one Ship and indanger'd two Galeons, which shot off their warning-pieces for Help, and made us all stay and wait on them, till they had repair'd their Tackling and main-Mast. We went on sometimes one way, sometimes another, not well knowing where we were, drinking our stinking water by allowance of Pints, till three or four days after the storm was ceased, we discover'd Land, which made all cry out, *Hispania, Hispania, Spain, Spain*; whilst a Council was summon'd by the Admiral to know what Land that was; some sold away Bisket, others Water, to those that wanted (every one thinking that it was some part of *Spain*) but the result of the wise Council was, after they had sail'd nearer the Land, and had laid and lost many Wagers about it, that it was the Island of *Madera*, which made some curse the Ignorance of the Pilots, and made all us prepare our selves with Patience for a longer Voyage. It pleas'd God from the discovery of this Island, to grant us a Favorable Wind to *Spain*, where within 12 days we discover'd *Cales*; and some of the Ships there left us, but most of them went for *San Lucar*, as did the Ships wherein I went; when we came near the dangerous Place, which the *Spaniards* call *La Barra*, we durst not venture our Ships on our Pilots own knowledge; but call'd for Pilots to Guide us in, who greedy of Lucre came out in Boats almost for every Ship one. November 28, 1637. we
cast

cast Anchor within *St. Lucar de Barameda* about one of the clock after noon, and before Evening other Passengers and my self went a shoar (having first been search'd) and thought I might presently have gone to the Cloister of *S. Dominick*, where my old Frier *Pablo de Londres* was yet living, whom I knew would be glad of my coming from the *India's*, yet I thought fit the first Night to enjoy my Friends both *Spaniards* and *English*, (who had come so long a Voyage with me) in some Ordinary, and to take my Rest better abroad than I should do in a Cloister, where I expected but a poor Friars Supper, a hard and mean Lodging, many Foolish Questions from old Frier *Pablo* concerning the *India's* and my abode there so many years, and finally the noise of Bells and Rattles to rouse the drowsie Friars from their Sleep to Matins at Midnight. That Night therefore I betook my self to an *English* Ordinary, where I refresh'd my self and my poor Prisoners, (who by the Master of the Ship were committed to my Charge that Night and forward on my Word, so as to be forth-coming when they should be call'd) and next Morning I sent my honest Friend *Layfield* with a Letter to the Cloister to old *Pablo de Londres*, who on my Summons came joyfully to welcome me from the *Indias*, and after very little discourse told me of Ships in the Haven ready to set out for *England*. The old Frier being of a decrepit and doting age, thought every Day a Year that I stay'd there, delaying my Voyage for *England*, and (not knowing the secrets of my Heart) judg'd already that the Conversion or turning of many Protestant Souls to Popery waited my coming, which made him hasten me, who was more desirous than he to be gone next day, if I might have found Wind, Weather and Shipping. But God, who had been with me in almost 90 days sailing from *Havana* to *San Lucar* and had deliver'd me from many a storm, prepar'd and further'd all things in a very short time for the last accomplishment of my Hope and desire, to return to *England* my native Soil, whence I had been absent almost four and twenty years.

My

My first thought here in St. *Lucar*, was to cast off now my Friars Weed, that outward Sheepskin, which covers many a wolvis, greedy and covetous heart, which doubtless is the Ground, why in *Germany*, in the Protestant and *Lutheran* Towns, when the Boys and young-men see a Frier go along streets, they cry out to the Neighbours, saying, *a Wolf, a Wolf, shut your doors*; meaning, that tho what they wear seem to be *pellis ovina*, or *agnina*, a Sheep or Lambskin and their Condition of mortified, humble and meek men, yet under it is *cor Lupinum*, a Wolves heart, greedy of some Prey, either worldly, of wealth and Riches, or spiritual, of seducing, deceiving and misleading poor Souls. Such was the Habit, which now I desir'd to shake off, which was a white Coat or Gown hanging to the ground girt about with a leathern Belt, and over it from the shoulders downward a white Scapulary (so call'd) hanging shorter than the Gown both before and behind, and over that a white Hood to cover the Head and lastly; over that a black Cloak with another black Hood; both which together, the black and white make the Friars of that Profession look just like Mag-pies, and acknowledg'd by the Church of *Rome* itself in a verse which they feign of *Martin Luther*, (with what ground I know not) saying of his former Life and Profession before his Conversion, *Bis Corvus, bis Pica fui, ter fune ligatus*. I was twice a Crow, twice a Magpie, and thrice was bound or tyed with a Cord; by a *Crow* meaning an *Augustine* Frier, who is all in black; by a *Magpie*, meaning a *Dominican*; and by *bound with a rope or Cord*, meaning a *Franciscan*, who indeed is girt about with a Cord of hemp. Though the *Dominican* Magpie by this his Habit make a Gloss and Understanding, contrary to his Life and Conversation; for by his outward black Habit, he saith, is signified an outward shew of Deadness and Mortification to the world, and by his inward white Habit an inward Purity and Chastity of heart, thoughts and life; both which truly are little seen, in those Friars especially, who outwardly are worldly, and living to the world

world, covetous and ambitious of Honours, Preferments, Bishopricks, and places of publick reading and preaching; and therefore have obtain'd many places of authority, as by the laws of *Aragon* to be the King of *Spain* his Ghostly father, to be Masters of the Popes Palace, and there to read a Lesson of Divinity, to be chief Heads of the Inquisition, and from these Places to be promoted to the Counsel of State in *Spain*, or to be Cardinals in *Rome*, and so Popes, or to enjoy the richest and fattest Bishopricks and Arch-Bishopricks in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *India's*, which shews how little they are dead to the World, nay how they are living to the World and its Preferments, contrary to the Black and dead Colour of their Habits. So likewise do they not live according to the whiteness of their inward Habit, whose Lives are impure and in chast, as I could exemplifie at large, shewing what base and unclean Acts have been committed by some of that Profession in the Low Countries, *Spain*, the *India's*, *Italy* nay here in *England* by one *Dade* the Superior of them, one *Popham* well known to be a good fellow, and at this day abiding in the *Spanish* House, by one *Crafts* and others, which would be too too long a Digression from the Whiteness of their Habit. But I applying the Allegory of this Black and white Habit otherwise to my self, in the outward black part of it see the Foulness and Filthiness of my Life and Idolatrous Priesthood in the exercise of that Profession and Orders, which from *Rome* I receiv'd; and in the white inward Habit considering the Purity, and Integrity of those Intentions and thoughts of my inward Heart, in pursuance whereof I had left what I have noted, yea all *America*, which, had I continu'd in it, might have been to me a Mine of Wealth, Riches and Treasure; and resolve here to cast off that hypocritical Cloak and Habit, and to put on such Apparel whereby I might no more appear a Wolf in sheepskin, but might go boldly to my Country of *England*, to shew and make known the Candor of my Heart, the purity and Sincerity of my Thoughts,

by

by a publick Profession of the pure Truths of the Gospel, without any Invention or Addition of Man. With the small means therefore left me after so long and almost a whole years Journey from *Petapa* to *St. Lucar* (having yet about a hundred Crowns) I gave Order for a sute of Cloaths to be made by an *English* Taylor, which I willingly put on, and prepar'd my self for *England*. Three or four Ships were ready, who had only waited for the Fleet, to take in some Commodities, especially some Wedges of Silver, of which I was with old *Pablo de Londres*, in doubt which to choose. The first that went out was thought should have been my Lot, in which my friend *Layfield* imbarck'd himself (for all the *English* Prisoners were there freed to go home to their Country) and from which the Providence of God diverted me, or else I had been this day with *Layfield* a Slave in *Turkey*; for next day after this Ship set out, it was taken by the *Turks*, and carried away Prize, and all the *English* in it Prisoners to *Argiers*. But God (who I hope had reserv'd me for better things,) appointed for me a safer Convoy home in a Ship (as I was inform'd) belonging to Sir *William Curtin*, under the command of an honest *Flemming*, nam'd *Adrian Adrianzen* living at *Dover* then, with whom I agreed for my Passage and Diet at his Table. This Ship set out of the Bar of *St. Lucar* the ninth day after my Arrival there, where it waited for four Ships more, but especially for some *Indian* Wedges of Silver, which upon Forfeiture of them it durst not take in within the Bar and Haven.

Thus being cloath'd after a new fashion and ready to lead a new Life; changed from an *American* to an *English-Man*, the tenth day after my abode in *San Lucar*, I bad adieu to *Spain* and all *Spanish* Fashions, and Factions, and to my old Frier *Pablo de Londres*, with the rest of my acquaintants, and so in a Boat went over the Bar to the Ship, which that night in company of four more set forward for *England*. I might observe here many things of the Goodness of *Adrian Adri-*
anzen,

anzen, and his good Carriage to me in his Ship, which I will omit, having much more to observe of the Goodness of God, who Favour'd this our voyage with such a prosperous Wind, and without any Storm, that in thirteen days we came to *Dover*, where I landed, the Ship going on to the *Downs*. Others that landed at *Margate* were brought to *Dover*, and there Question'd and search'd; but I, not speaking *English*, but *Spanish*, was not at all suspected, nor judg'd to be an *English* Man; and so after two days I took Post in company of some *Spaniards* and an *Irish* Colonel for *Canterbury* and so to *Gravesend*. When I came to *London*. I was much troubled within my self for want of my Mother tongue, (for I could only speak some broken words) which made me fear I should not be acknowledged to be an *English*-Man born. Yet I thought my kindred (who knew I had been many years lost) would some way or other acknowledge me, and take notice of me, if at the first I address'd my self to some of them, till I could better express my self in *English*. The first therefore of my name, whom I had notice of, was my Lady *Penelope Gage*, Widow of Sir *John Gage*, then living in *St. Jones*; to whom next morning after my arrival to *London*, I address'd my self for better discovery of my Kindred; whom though I knew to be Papists, and therefore ought not to be acquainted with my inward Purpose and Resolution; yet for fear of some Want in the mean time, and that I might by their means practise my self in my forgotten native Tongue, and that I might enquire what *Childs* part had been left me by my Father, that I might learn Fashions, and lastly that I might search into the Religion of *England*, and find how far my Conscience could agree with it, and be satisfied in those Scruples which had troubl'd me in *America*, for all these Reasons I thought it not amiss to look and enquire after them. When therefore I came to my Lady *Gage*, she believ'd me to be her Kinsman, but laugh'd at me, telling me, that I spake like an *Indian* or *Welch* Man, and not like an *English*-Man; yet she welcom'd me home,

home, and sent me with a Servant to a Brother Lodging in *Long Aker*, who being in the County of *Surry*, and hearing of me, sent Horse and Man for me to come to keep Christmas with an Uncle of mine living at *Gatton*; by whom as a lost and forgotten Nephew, and now after four and twenty years return'd home again, I was very kindly entertain'd, and from thence sent for to *Cheam*, to one Mr. *Fromand* another Kinsman, with whom I continued till Twelfth-day, and so return'd to *London* to my Brother.

Thus my good Reader, thou seest an *American*, through many dangers by Sea and Land, now safely arriv'd in *England*, and thou mayst well with me observe the great and infinite Goodness and Mercy of God towards me a wicked and wretched Sinner. I shall only give thee some short Rules towards understanding the *Poconchi* or *Indian* Language, and so conclude.

Some

Some brief and short Rules for the better learning of the Indian tongue call'd Poconchi or Pocoman, commonly used about Guatemala, and some other parts of Honduras.

Although it be true that by the daily conversation which in most places the *Indians* have with the *Spaniards*, they for the most part understand the *Spanish* tongue in common and ordinary words, so that a *Spaniard* may travel amongst them, and be understood in what he calleth for by some or other of the Officers, who are appointed to attend upon all such as travel and pass through their Towns: Yet because the perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* tongue is not so common to all *Indians* both Men and Women, nor so generally spoken by them as their own, therefore the Priests and Friars have taken pains to learn the Native tongues of several places and Countries, and have studied to bring them a form and method of Rules, that so the use of them may be continued to such as shall succeed after them. Neither is there any one language general to all places, but so many several and different one from another, that from *Chiapa* and *Zoques*, to *Guatemala*, and *San Salvador*, and all about *Honduras*, there are at least eighteen several Languages; and in this district some Friars who have perfectly learned six or seven of them. Neither in any place are the *Indians* taught or preached unto but in their Native and Mother-tongue, which because the Priest only can speak, therefore are they so much loved and respected by the Natives. And although
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for the time I lived there, I learned and could speak in two several tongues, the one call'd *Chacciquel*, the other *Poconchi* or *Pocoman*, which have some connexion one with another; yet the *Poconchi* being the easiest, and most elegant, and that wherein I did constantly preach and teach, I thought fit to set down some rules of it, (with the Lords Prayer, and a brief declaration of every word in it) to witness and testify to posterity the truth of my being in those parts, and the Manner how those Barbarous tongues have, are, and may be learned.

There is not in the *Poconchi* tongue, nor in any other the diversity of declensions, which is in the *Latine* Tongue; yet there is a double way of declining all Nouns, and conjugating all Verbs, and that is with divers Particles, according to the words beginning with a Vowel or a Consonant; neither is there any difference of Cases, but only such as the said particles or some Prepositions may distinguish.

The Particles for the words or Nouns beginning with a Consonant, are as followeth.

Sing. *Nu*, *A*, *Ru*. Plural. *Ca*, *Ata*, *Qui tacque*. As for example, *Pat* signifieth a House, and *Tat* signifieth Father, which are thus declin'd.

Sing. *Nupat* my House, *Apat* thy House, *Rupat*, his House. Plural. *Capat* our House, *Apatta* your House, *Quipat tacque* their House.

Sing. *Nutat* my Father, *Atat* thy Father, *Rutat* his Father. Plural. *Catat* our Father, *Atata* your Father, *Quitatacque* their Father. Thus are declin'd Nouns beginning with a Consonant. As, *Queh*, a Horse, *Nuqueh*, *Aqueh*, *Ruquab*, &c. *Hub*, Book or Paper, *Nubub*, *Abub*, *Rubub*. *Molob*. Egg, *Numolob*, *Amolob*, *Rumolob*. *Holom*, Head, *Nuholom*, *Aholom*, *Ruholom*, *Chi*, Mouth, *Nuchi*, *Achi*, *Ruchi*. *Cam*, Hand, *Nucam*, *Acam*, *Rucam*. *Chac*, Flesh, *Nuchac*, *Achac*, *Ruchac*. *Car*. Fish, *Nucar*, *Acar*, *Rucar*. *Cacar*, *Acarta*, *Quicartaque*. *Chacquil*, Body or Flesh of Man, *Nuchaquil*, *Achaquil*, *Ruchaquil*, *Cachacquil*, *Achaquila*, *Quichaquiltacque*.

Some words there are which are pronounced like *ts*, which

which are written not with *ts*, but with this letter *tz*, peculiar in that tongue; as *tsi* dog, *tsiquin* bird; *Nutsi* my Dog, *Atsi* thy Dog, *Rutsi* his Dog; *Catsi* our Dog, *Atsita* your Dog, *Quitsi tacque* their Dog. *Nutsiquin*, my Bird, *Atsiquin* thy Bird, *Rutsiquin*, his Bird; *Catsiquin* our Bird, *Atsiquinta*, your Bird, *Quitsi quintacque* their Bird.

There are no several terminations for cases, as in Latin; but the cases are distinguished with some particles or prepositions, as for example. The house of *Peter*, *Rupat Pedro*, putting the possessors name, and the particle *Ru*, which is a possessive. So for the dative, and the particle *Re*, as for example, give to *Peter* his Dog, *Chaye re Pedro Rutsi*. For the accusative, when it is motion to a place, or else not, add *Chi*; as for example, I go to the house of *Peter*, *Quino chi rupat Pedro*. The Vocative admitteth of this particle; *ah*, or *ba*, of wishing, or calling, as O my son, or ho my son, *Ah vacun*, or *ba vacun*. The Ablative keeping still the same termination with the Nominative, is expressed with some preposition or other, as in my mouth, *Pan muchi*; with my hand, *chi nucam*. In signifying I, is undeclinable, as also *At*, signifying you, or thou. The possessive Mine is also undeclinable, as *vichin*, mine, or for me; so thine, or for thee, *ave*. Where note that in this Tongue there is no *w*, but *v*, or *u*, are pronounced as *w*, as though we pronounce *wacun* my son, *wichin* mine or for me, *awe* thine or for thee, we write *vacun*, *vichin* *ave*.

The particles or letters which serve for Nouns beginning with a vowel, are as followeth. Singul. *V. Av. R.* Plural. *C. or Q. Av. ta. C. or qu. tacque*, as for example, *Acun* signifieth son, *Ixim* Corn, *Ochoch* likewise house, which are thus declined.

Sing. *Vacun* my son, *Avacun*, thy son, *Racun* his son; Pl. *Cacun* our son, *Avacunta* your son, *Cacuntacque* their son.

Sing. *Vixim* my corn, *Avixim* thy corn, *Rixim* his corn; Plural. *Quixim* our corn, *Avicimta* your corn, *Quixim tacque* their corn.

Sing. *Vococh* my house, *Avococh* thy house, *Rochoch* his house,
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house; Plural. *Cochoch* our house, *Avochochta* your house, *Cochochtaque* their house.

So likewise are varied or declined *Abix*, signifying a plantation, or piece of ground sown. *Acal* earth or ground. *Vlen*, also earth or ground. *Achach*, hen. Save only that the words beginning with I, admit *qu*, in the first and third person plural; the rest admit for the same persons plural, C only.

And as thus I have observed for the varying or declining of Nouns, so also do all the Verbs admit of several particles for their conjugating, according as they begin either with a vowel or consonant.

Those that begin with a Consonant have somewhat like the Nouns these Articles following.

Sin. *Nu*, *Na*, *Inru*. Plural *Inca*, *Nata*, *Inquitacque*. As for example, *Locob* to love.

Sing. *Nulocob*, I love, *Nalocob* thou lovest, *Inrulocob* he loveth; Plural. *Incalocob* we love, *Nalochota*, ye love, *Inquilocobtaque* they love.

Nuroca or *Nurapa*, I whip or beat; *Naroco* or *Norapa*, thou whippeth or beatest; *Inrureca*, or *Inrurapa*, he whippeth or beateth. Plural. *Incaroca* or *Incarapa*, we whip or beat. *Narocata*, or *Narapata*, ye whip or beat; *Inquirochatache* or *Inquiripataque*, they whip or beat.

Nutsiba I write, *Natsiba* thou writeth, *Innutsiba* he writeth. Plural. *Incatsiba*, we write, *Natsibata* ye write, *Inquitsibataque*, they write.

There is no preterimperfect tense, nor preterpluperfect tense; but the preterperfect tense standeth for them; neither is there any future, but the present tense expresseth it, and is understood for it, according to the sense of the discourse, as *Nulobo Pedro*, I love or will love *Peter*. *Tinulocob*, I love thee, or I will love thee. Yet sometimes for fuller expression of the future tense, is added this Verb, *Inva* I will, *Nava* thou wilt, *Inra* he will; as *Inva nulocob Pedro* I will love *Peter*.

The particles for the Preterperfect tense are as follow :

Sing.

Sing. *Ixnu*, *xa*, *ixru*; Plural. *Ixca*, *xata*, *ixqui tacque*. Where note, that in all these particles, and in all this language, the letter *x* is pronounced like *sh*, as *ixnu* like *ishnu*, *xa*, like *sha*, *ixru* like *ishru*, *ixca* like *ishca*, and so forth.

Preterperf. Sing. *Ixnulocob* I have loved, *xalocob* thou hast loved, *ixrulocob* he hath loved; Plural. *Ixcaclocob*, we have loved, *xalocob* ye have loved, *ixquilocobtacque* they have loved. And so of the Verbs above.

The particles for the Imperative mood are these following.

For the Singular number, and second person *Cha*, for the third person singular *Chiru*, for the first person plural *Chica*, for the second *Chata*, for the third *Chiqui tacque*; as for example: *Chalocob* love thou, *Chirulocob* let him love; Plural. *Chicalocob* let us love, *Chalocobta* love ye, *Chiquilocobtacque*, let them love. And so of the rest of the Verbs above.

The Optative Mood is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this particle *Ta*, which signifieth as much as *Urinam*, or Would to God, as *Nalocob ta Dios*, would God thou love God: *Ixnulocob ta Dios*, would God I had loved God.

The Conjunctive Mood also is the same with the Indicative, adding to it this particle and preposition *vei* and *ta*, If. As for example, *vei nalocob ta Dios*, if thou love God, *vei ixnulocob ta Dios*, if I had loved God.

There is no Infinitive Mood, but the Indicative serveth for it. As *Quinchol nufiba* I can write. *Quinquimi* signifieth to die. *Nurach* I desire, *Nurcach quinquimi* I desire to die.

Note further, that in all Verbs Actives, when Me and Thee are expressed as the Accusative case following the Verb, they are coupled to the person that doth or goeth before the verb, by these two particles for the present tense, *Quin* me, *Ti* thee, and for the preterperfect tense, *xin* me, *ixti* thee; as for example.

Quinalocob thou lovest me, *xinalocob* thou hast loved me, *quinralocob* thou wilt love me, *quinalocobta* love me, or

I pray God thou love me, *vei quinalocob*, if thou love me, *vei exinalocob* if thou hast or hadst loved me, *quinarach nalo-cob*, thou desirest to love me. So for the Second person being the Accusative, *Tinulocob* I love thee, *ixtinulocob* I have loved thee, *tiranulocob* I will love thee, *tinulocobta* pray God I love thee, *vei tinulocob* if I love thee, *vei itxinulocob*, if I have or had loved thee, *tinurach nulocob* I desire to love thee.

Note further, that these two Verbs, *Quinchol*, which signifieth, I can, or am able, and *Inva* which signifieth, I will, when they are put with other Verbs of whatsoever person, they are elegantly but impersonally in the third person Singular. As for example:

Incholnulocob I can love, *inra nulocob* I will love, *ixra ixnulocob* I have been willing to love, *ixchol ixnulocob* I have been able to love, *tichol nulocob* I can love thee, *tira nulocob* I will love thee.

The Letters or particles for Verbs beginning with a Vowel, are these that follow.

Sing. *Inv. Nav. Inr. Plural, Inqu. or Inc. Nau ta, Inqu tacque*, or *Inc tacque*. As for example, *Ega* signifieth to deliver, which is thus formed:

Sing. *Invega* I deliver, *Navega* thou deliverest, *Inreca* he delivereth. Plural. *Inquega*, we deliver, *Navegata ye deliver*, *Inquega tacque* they deliver.

A is a simple, signifying to wish or desire, or will a thing, which is never found without these particles.

Sing. *Inva* I will, *Nava* thou wilt, *Inra*, he will. Plural. *Inca* we will, *Navata ye will*, *Inca tacque* they will. *Ivereb* to hear. *Invivireb* I hear, *navivirecb* thou hearest, *inrivireb* he heareth. Plural. *Inquivireb* we hear, *navivirebta ye hear*, *Inquivireb tacque* they hear.

Thus have I briefly set down the way of declining all sorts of Nouns, and conjugating all sorts of active Verbs of this tongue. It remaineth now that I speak of Verbs Passives, their forming, and their conjugating with like particles. The Verbs Passives being of divers terminations, are diversly formed. Commonly those that end with an *A*, cut off
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The *A* in the Passive, and to the last consonant add *bi*. As for example : *Nuroca* I whip or beat, the passive is *Quinrochi*. So *Nurapa* I whip or beat, in the passive is *Quinraphi*. Except *Nutiba*, I write, which changeth *b*, into *m*. *Quintsimbi* I am written. Those that end in *ob* change *ob* into *onbi*; as *Nulocob* I love, *Quinloconbi* I am loved. So those that end in *ch*, do change *ch* into *bi*, as *Invivireb* I hear, *Quinivirbi* I am heard; *Nucata* I teach, *Quincutbi* I am taught, by the first rule. But those that end in *ça* (where note this letter *ç* or *c*, with a tittle under it, is pronounced like *s*;) change the *a* into *ibi*. As for example, *Inveça* I deliver, *Quinoçibi* I am delivered. *Nucança* I kill, *Quicamçibi* I am killed: Those that end in *ach*, add *bi* in the passive, as *Nuçach* I forgive, in the Passive maketh *Quinçacchi* I am forgiven. The particles that vary or conjugate the Verbs Passives, are these following:

Sing. *Quin*, *ti*, *in*. Plural. *Cob*, or *Co*, *tita quitacque*. As for example :

Quiloconbi, I am loved, *tiloconbi* thou art loved, *inroconbi*, he is loved. Plural. *Celoconbi*, we are loved, *tiloconbita* ye are loved, *quiloconbi tacque* they are loved.

Quinrochi I am beaten or whipped, *tirochi* thou art beaten or whipped, *inrochi* he is beaten or whipped. Plural. *Corochi* we are beaten or whipped, *tirochita* ye are beaten or whipped, *quirochi tacque* they are beaten or whipped.

The particles for the Preterperfect tense are these following:

Sing *Xin*, *ixti*, *ix*. Plural. *Xob* or *xo*, *ixti ta*, *xi tacque*. As for example :

Sing. *Xinloconbi* I have been loved, *ixtiloconbi* thou hast been loved, *ixloconbi* he hath been loved. Plural. *Xoloconbi* we have been loved, *ixtiloconbita* ye have been loved, *xiloconbi tacque* they have been loved. *Xinrochi* I have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirochi* thou hast been whipped or beaten, *ixrochi* he hath been

been whipped or beaten. Plural. *Xorochi* or *Xobrochi* we have been whipped or beaten, *ixtirochita* ye have been whipped or beaten, *xirochitacque* they have been whipped or beaten.

The Imperative Mood is thus :

Tiloconhi, be thou loved, *Chilococho*, let him be loved. Plural. *Chicalococho*, let us be loved, *Tiloconhota*, be ye loved, *Chiquiloconho tacque*, let them be loved. Where you see the particle *hi* is changed into *ho*.

The Optative Mood, and the Conjunctive are after the manner of the Verbs Actives, by putting to *ta* in the Optative, and *vei* in the Conjunctive. As for example.

Quinloconhi ta, I pray God I be loved. *Tiloconhi ta*, I pray God thou be loved; *Inloconhita*, I pray God he be loved; *Cobloconhita*, I pray God we be loved; *Tiloconhitata*, I pray God ye be loved, *Quiloconhitatacque*, I pray God they be loved.

So in the preterperfect tense *ta* only is added: as for example.

Xinloconhi ta, would to God I have or had been loved, *Ixtiloconhita*, pray God thou hast or hadst been loved, *Ixloconhita*, pray God he have or had been loved. Plur. *Xo-loconhita*, pray God we have or had been loved, *Ixtiloconhitata ta*, I pray God ye have or had been loved, *Xiloconhi ta tacque*, I pray God they have or had been loved. Where note that the particle *ta*, if any other word or Sentence be put with the Verb, may be put before the Verb, as *Nim ta Quinloconhi*, I pray God I be greatly loved. Otherwise if the Verb be alone, *ta* is placed after it.

The Conjunctive Mood is thus, *Vei Quinloconhi*, If I be loved, *Vei tiloconhi*, if thou be loved, and so forth.

This is all, which commonly is taught concerning this tongue. In which grounds he that is perfect in, and hath a Dictionary of the several words of it, may soon learn to speak it. As I shall understand by my best friends, that there is a desire of further printing a Dictionary, I shall satisfy their desires, and apply my self unto it. These few rules for the present I have thought fit to print, for curiosity sake, and that it may appear, how easie the *Indian* tongues are to be

be learned. I shall conclude this unparrelle'd work, with the Lords prayer in that tongue, and with a brief explication of it.

Catat taxab vilcat ; Nimta incabargibi avi ; Inchalita Avibauripan Cana. Invanivita nava yabvir vacacal, he invantaxab. Chaye runa cabuhunta quib viic ; Naçachtamac, he incaçachue quimac ximacquivi chiquibi, Macoacana chipam catacchybi ; Coaveçata china unche ifiri, mani quiro, he inqui Amen.

Note. *Catat*, according to the rule of declining Nouns, is the first person plural, which is known by the particle *Ca*, added to *Tat*, which signifieth father ; and *Catat* is our father.

Taxab signifieth Heaven ; it is put before the word or verb *vilcat*, for more elegancy sake, and for better placing of it, contrary to the Latin and English, where *es*, or *art*, is put before *in celis*, or in Heaven. Likewise it is put without a preposition, contrary to the Greek, Latin and English: for in this tongue many times the prepositions are omitted and understood.

Vilcat signifieth *es*, or *art* : it is the second person of the Verb, *Sum, es, fui*, which is a Verb Anomal, and conjugated after the rule of Verbs above. As for example, *Vilquin*, I am, *Vilcat*, thou art, *Villi*, he is. Pl. *Vilcob*, we are, *Vilcatta*, ye are, *Vilque tacque*, they are. The preterperfect tense, *Xinvi*, I have been, *Ixtivi*, thou hast been, *Ixvi*, he hath been. Plural. *Pobvi*, we have been *Ixtivita*, ye have been, *Xivi tacque*, they have been. Imperative, *Tivi*, or *Tovo*, be thou ; *Chivi* or *Chivo*, let him be. Plural, *Cobvi ta* or *Cobvo, ta*, let us be ; *Tivita* or *Tivota*, be ye ; *Quivi ta* or *Quivo ta tacque*, let them be. The Optative and Conjunctive are according to the Rule above, by adding *ta* or *vei*, to the present tense, and preterperfect, tense of the Indicative Mood.

Nim ta Incabargibi which signifieth, I pray God may be greatly magnified. *Vim* signifieth great or greatly. *Ta* is *optantis*, or of wishing, *Incabarchibi*, is the third person of the Verb *Quincabarcibi*, which signifieth to be magnified or extolled ; and is formed according to the rule above, from the active Verb, *Nucabarça*, to magnifie or extol, by

changing the last *a* into *ibi*, and adding *quin* the particle of the Passive.

Avi thy name. *Vi* signifyeth name, and according to the rule above for Nouns beginning with a Consonant *a* is the particle of the second person.

Inchalita avihauri, let come thy Kingdom, is the proper expression of this in *English*. *Inchali*, is the third person of the Verb *Quinchali*, which signifyeth to come. *Ta* is as before *optantis*, or of wishing. *Ihauri* or *Ihauric*, signifyeth Kingdom. *Av*, added, sheweth the second person.

Pan cana, upon our heads. This is a peculiar expression in that tongue; which (as all other tongues) hath many phrases, strange expressions, proper elegancies and circumlocutions. Whereof this is one, to say, Let thy Kingdom come upon our heads. *Pam* or *Pan*, is a preposition, signifying in, or within, or upon. *Na* signifyeth head; *Nuna*, my head, *Cana*, our head, according to the rule above: from whence they call a hat, *Pan Nuna*, as being upon the head.

Invanivi ta Nava, let be done what thou wilt. They have no proper noun to express a mans will, but express it by a Verb: *Invanivi*, is the third person of the Verb, *Quinvanivi*, which signifyeth to be made or done. The Active is *Nuvan*, I do or make: from whence are formed many passives, as *Quinvan*, or *Quinvanbi*, or *Quinvani*, or *Quinvanivi*, or *Quinanvari*, or *Quinvantibi*, whereof this last signifyeth to be done speedily. And so to all Verbs Actives and Passives, this particle *tibi*, is added at the end, to signifye hast or speed in doing any thing. *Nava*, is the second person of the Verb, *Inva*, I will, according to the rule for Verbs beginning with a Vowel, *Nava*, thou wilt, *Inra*, he will.

Tahvir vach acal, here upon the face of the earth; *Tahvir*, is an Adverb signifying here, *Vach*, signifyeth face, *Nuvach*, my face, *Avach*, thy face, *Ruvach*, his face. *Acal*, signifyeth the earth or ground.

He invan taxan; as it is done in heaven. *He* is an Adverb, signifying

signifying even as, *Invan*, is the third person of the passive Verb, *Quinvan*, to be done. *Taxab*, as before, signifieth in Heaven without any preposition to it.

Chaye runa, give to day. *Nuye* is the first person of the present tense, signifying, I give, *Cha* is the particle (according to the rule above) of the second person of the Imperative Mood. *Chaye* give thou; *Chyrue*, let him give. *Runa*, to day.

Cabubun ta quib viic, our every day bread: where note that *ca*, put before *hubun* is very elegantly placed, though it do belong to the word *viic*, which signifieth bread. *Nuviic*, my bread, *Caviic*, our bread. *Hubun* is an undeclined word, signifying every one, or every thing. *Quib* signifieth the Sun of the day.

Naçach ta camac, I pray God thou forgive our sins. They use not here the Imperative Mood, as in Latin *dimitte*, and in English forgive, but with the particle *ta*, or wishing, they use the Optative Mood. *Naçach* is the second person of the Verb, *Nuçach*, I forgive. *Mac*, signifieth sin. *Numac*, my sin or sins, *camac*, our sins. *Laval* is another word in that tongue also to signifie sin.

He *incaçachue quimac*, even as we forgive their sins. *Incaçach* is the first person plural, according to the rule above; for verbs beginning with a consonant, *ve* is put at the end for elegancy sake. *Quimac* is the third person plural. Where note that in a whole speech or sentence, sometimes the particle *tacque*, observed above in the rule for declining is left out; and sometimes it is added. As here, *quimac* their sins; or else it might have been *quimac tacque*.

Xim acquivi chi quib, that have sinned against our backs; of *Mac* signifying sin, is this Verb formed, *quinmacquivi*, to sin. So likewise of *laval*, sin, is formed another Verb, *quinlavini*, to sin. This Verb *quinmacquivi* is a Deponent; of which sort there are many in that tongue, as *quincutani*, to preach, which have the same particles as the Verbs Passives, *Chiquib* is a word compounded of the Preposition *chi* and *ib*, which signifieth back, and is varied like the Nouns beginning with a Vowel; and joyned with *chi*, signifieth

signifieth against, as *Chivih*, against me, *Chavib*, against thee, *Cbirih*, against him. Plural. *Chiquib*, against us, *chavhta*, against ye, *chiquib acqu*, against them: And if another third person be named, *chirih*, standeth for against, as *chirih Pedro*, against *Peter*, that is against the back. If any be named in the third person Plural, then *chiqui* is used, as *chiquib unche*, or *chiquib cuneh elal*, against all.

Macoacana, leave us not. This Verb is here compounded of three: first, *Ma* is abbreviated from the word *mani*, which signifieth no or not, as likewise *manchucu*. *Co* or *cob*, signifieth we or us, and as in the rules before I have observed, is put here before the Verb; which causeth the *n* to be cut off from the Verb, which otherwise should have been *nacana*, of *nucana*, I leave, *nacana*, thou leavest, *inraccana*, he leaveth, and so forth.

Chipam catacchibi, in our being tempted. This is another great elegancy in that tongue, to use a Verb Passive for a Noun, and to add to it a Preposition; as here, *chipam*, which signifieth in; and putting to the Verb the Particles wherewith the Nouns are varied and declined. *Nutacchib*, signifieth I tempt. The passive is *quintacchibi*, I am tempted; from whence *nutacchibi*, signifieth my being tempted, or my temptation; *attacchibi*, thy temptation, *rutacchibi* his temptation.

Coavegaca china unche tsiri, Deliver us from all evil things. *Invega*, as I have noted before, signifieth to deliver. *Co* is the first person Plural put before the Verb, as I observed in the rule above, and in that Conjunction or compound *ma-coacana*. *China* is a Proposition, signifying above or from. *Unche*, signifieth all, which is undeclinable. *tsiri*, is an Adjective properly undeclinable also or unvariable, in Gender, Case, and Number; as are all Adjectives in that tongue. It signifieth evil or bad; as *tsiri vinac*, an evil man, *tsiri ixoc*, a bad Woman, *tsiri chicop*, a bad or evil beast; so likewise in the Plural number it is the same. Without a Substantive it is as the Neuter Gender, as *malum* for *mala res*, signifying an evil thing, or evil things. The Substantive that is formed from it, is *tsiriquil*, which signifieth

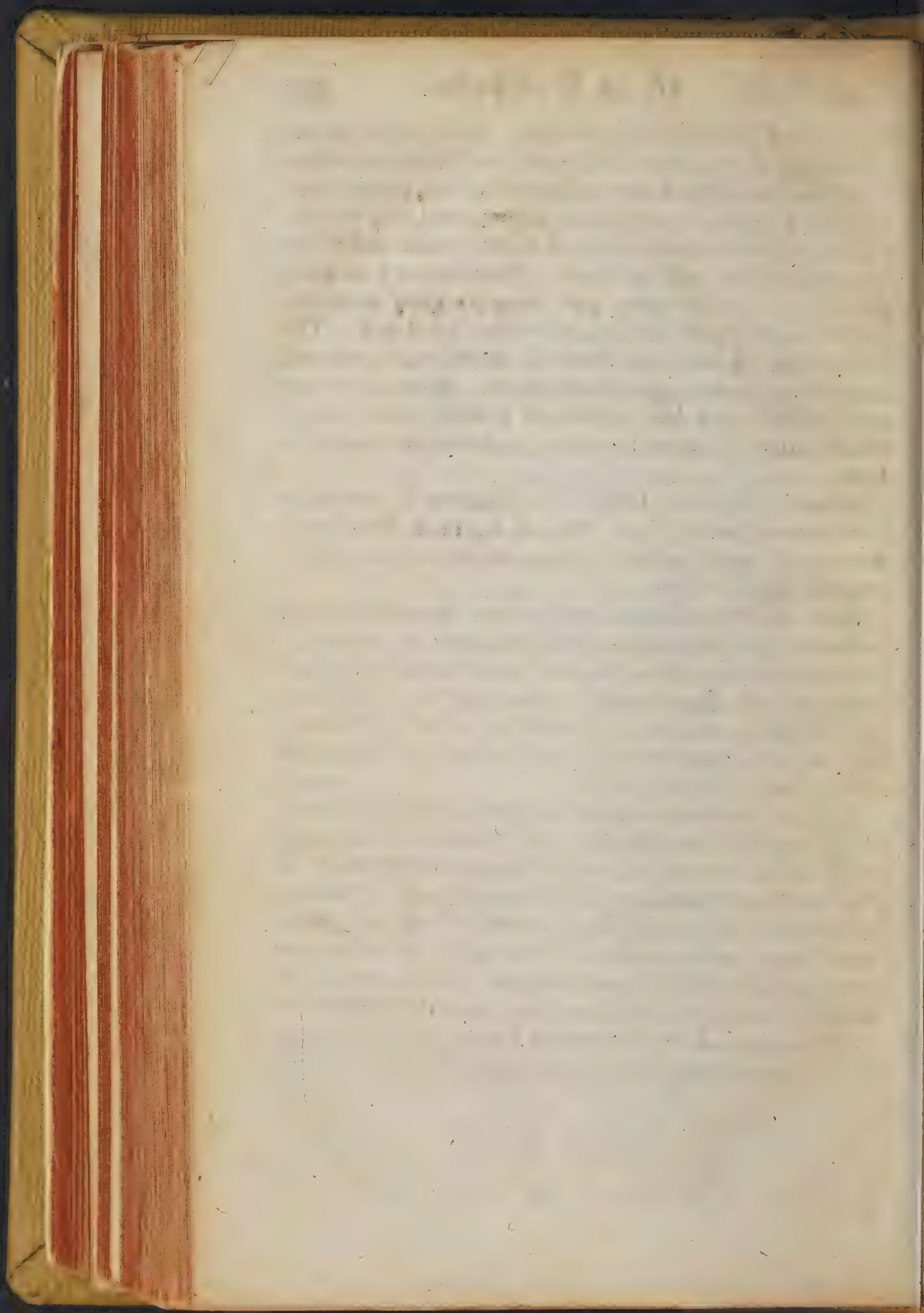
fieth evil or wickedness. *Voronquil*, signifieth the same.

Mani quiro, not good : this is put for a further expression of evils to be delivered from whatsoever is not good. *Mani*, as I noted before, signifieth not. *Quiro*, is as *tsiri*, an Adjective, signifying good or a good thing, and is undeclinable, unvariable in both numbers. *Quiro vinac*, a good man, *quiro ixoc*, a good woman, *quiro chicop*, a good beast; so likewise in the plural number, *quiro vinac* good men. The Substantive that is derived from this Adjective, is, *quirohal*, goodness. *Chiobal*, signifieth the same. *Quirohla*, is very good, *tsirilab* very bad; where *lab* is added at the end of an Adjective, it puts the same aggravation as *valde* in Latin.

Hiinqui, even as he saith, The meaning is, even as he saith that taught this prayer. *Quinqui*, signifieth I say, *tiqui*, thou sayest, *inqui*, he saith, *Cobani*, we say, *tiquita*, ye say, *quinqitacque*, they say.

Amen. All words which have no true expression in the Indians tongues, are continued in the Spanish, or in the proper tongue, as here *Amen*. So wine which formerly they had not, they call *vino*; though by an improper word some call it *Castillana ha*, that is, the water of Castile. So God, they call *Dios* commonly; though some call him *Nim Abual*, that is the great Lord.

And thus for curiosities sake, and by the intreaty of some special friends, I have furnished the Press with a language which never yet was printed, or known in England, A Merchant, Mariner, or Captain at Sea may chance by fortune to be driven upon some Coast, where he may meet with some *Pocoman Indian*; and it may be of great use to him, to have some light of this *Poconchi* tongue. Whereunto I shall be willing hereafter to add something more for the good of my Country; and for the present I leave thee Reader to study what hitherto hath briefly been delivered by me.



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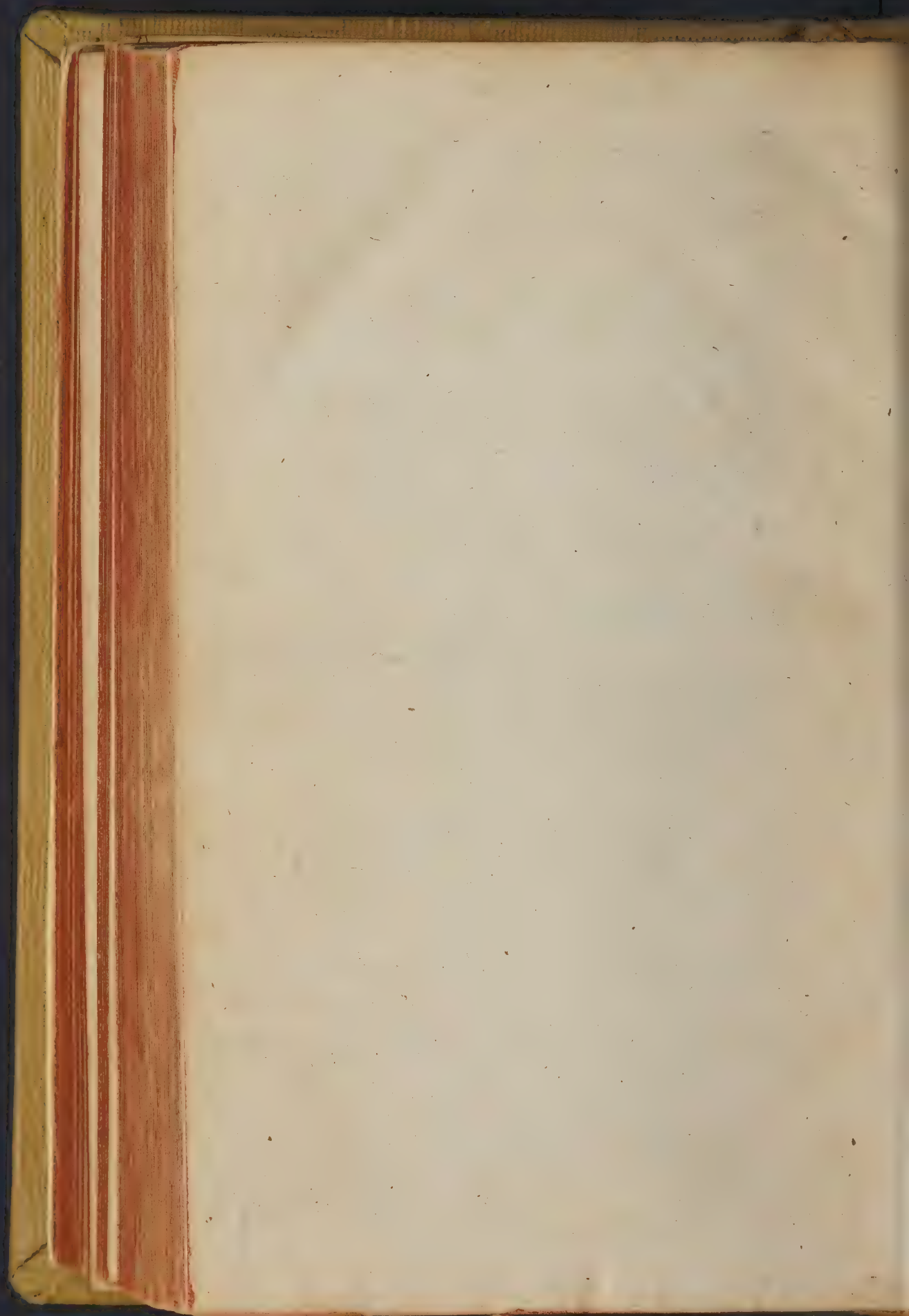
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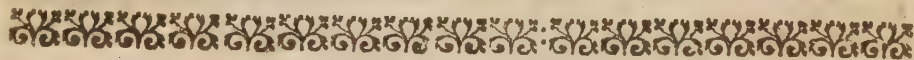
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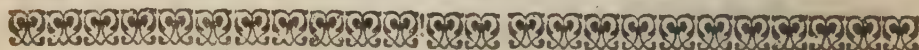
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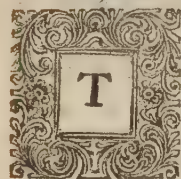
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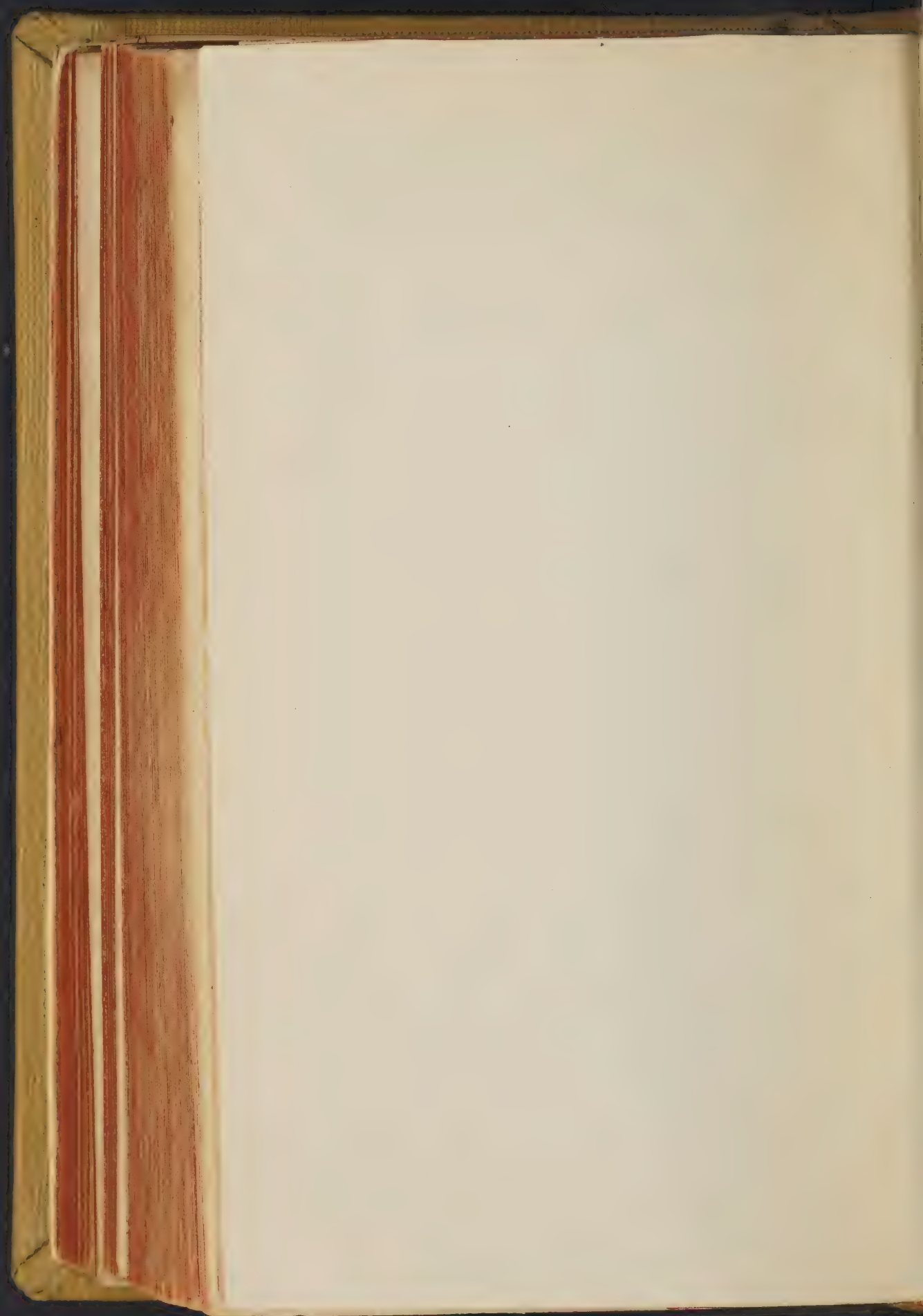
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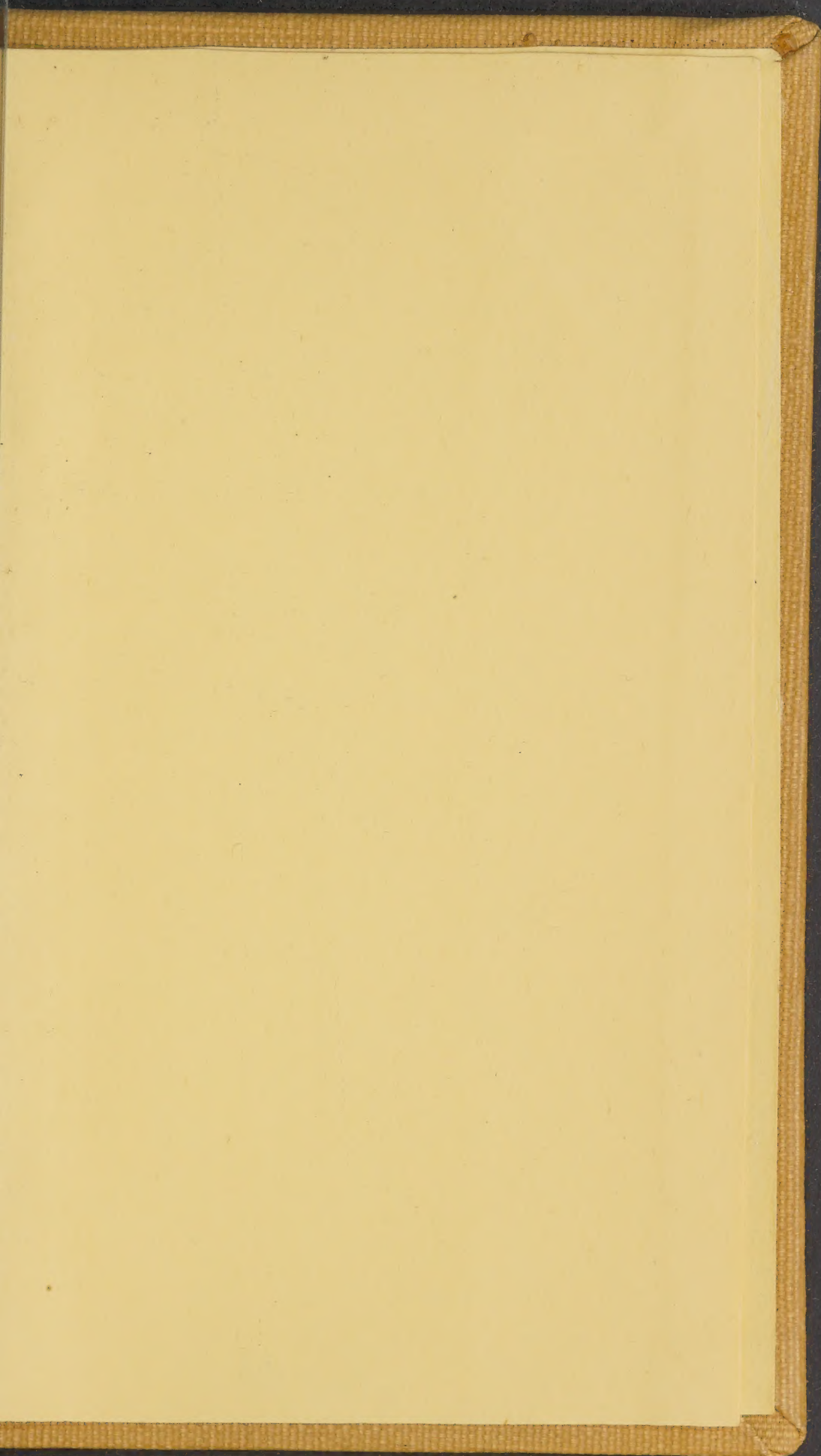
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